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BOTH the Allies and the "Little Entente" took the right attitude toward the attempted coup d'etat of the ex-Kaiser Karl of Austria. The world is through with Kaisers; it should have no more of them. The least capable of successfully returning from Elba was obviously Karl. He is fortunate that his retreat to Switzerland was left open and that he is not behind bars. So weak, so futile a man has none of the stuff of which Napoleons are made, and we cannot believe that the people of Hungary or Austria, for all they may have been tempted, could forget that this man was too weak and feeble to end their torture in 1917 when he might so easily have done so. As for the Allies, their stand marks a great advance over the days of 1919 when they established another Hapsburg in Budapest until the honest scorn and fierce denunciation of a brave American, Herbert Hoover, drove him out. Soon after Hoover had spoken out about the Archduke Josef regency, so the story runs, what seemed to be a mangled dispatch in code from Budapest reached an American official in Paris. For a while no one could decipher it. Then a bright American spelled it out. It read: "*Archie is on the skid!*" Thanks to Hoover, the Archduke was. But for Karl it is not even necessary to do more than threaten the skid.

AT the close of the Near East Conference at London in February Greece uttered a loud note of defiance to both Turkey and the Allies. The treaty of Sèvres had been modified in the interests of peace in the Near East; but Greece would have none of compromise. Premier Kalogeropoulos said to the Allied ministers: "Greece stands or falls by the Treaty of Sèvres. She has absolute confidence in her ability to make it respected by Turkey." And now, a month and a half later, it begins to look as if Greece were determined to fall. Her offensive against the Turks, unsupported by Allied arms or gold, appears to have failed—as all offensives should fail—and her armies are in retreat from the city of Eski-Shehr. The Turks are nationalistic, militaristic, aggressively determined to control Asia Minor. But the Greeks add to these characteristics imperialistic designs against the other states of the Near East which can only be carried through by means of endless war. It is to be hoped that their present setback will be enough to discourage any more militaristic adventurings in Asia Minor and the Balkans. The Greek people have long enough allowed themselves to be bled white for the sake of the ambitions now of the Allies and now of their own rulers. It is time they called a halt.

IN the last analysis the responsibility for the latest British coal strike rests with Lloyd George's Government. It harks back to its broken promise to be guided by and to act promptly upon the report of the Sankey Commission appointed to investigate and to outline a policy. But that report is now well in the background. The fact today is that the Government decided to end its control of the industry on March 31 instead of August 31 and to this the workers objected. They demand the retention of national wage agreements and of the existing scales which the owners seek to decrease. The operators say that they will not treat nationally with the miners and that they cannot afford to pay present wages, to which labor responds that in that case the Government must pay the difference, precisely as the Italian Government has been paying the Italian bakers the difference between the price they have received and the actual cost of making bread. Unquestionably the British coal industry has suffered some severe setbacks because of decreased demand and increased costs; the Versailles Treaty has injured it because, owing to the German coal Belgium and France are receiving, they no longer have to buy English coal—the former is even reselling German coal in Holland.

AT bottom the struggle is one between private and public ownership. The settlements heretofore have been temporary and political, while the Lloyd George Government has drifted with no national policy to urge. The present struggle may be the final one for Government ownership; the mood of the men is plainly more serious than heretofore, as is shown by the flooding of some mines, an act which forfeits them much public confidence and sympathy at the very outset of the struggle, just as the demand that the Government meet any deficit due to the retention of the existing wage will be opposed by many who favor the

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labor cause. The situation is profoundly grave from every point of view—the difficulties of the owners, as Mr. Harold J. Laski points out in the *Survey*, are not to be minimized. At the same time they are determined to return to the conditions of 1914 while the men will not stop at anything short of nationalization of the mines. The owners are, however, in the better position, with excellent coal reserves, while the miners used up their strike funds last year. The Government will, of course, side with the capitalists.

THE British Embassy is sure that the report of the American Commission on Ireland is biased and misleading, and the charge is echoed by some of our wiseacres of the daily press. The New York *Evening Post* feels, for instance, that the language of the report is not judicial and is too bitter. Very well. But what have they to say to this passage on Ireland from a loyal British weekly, the London *Nation?*

> There may have been a time when Ministers believed honestly that they were trying to put down a murder gang. At this moment they know perfectly well that the obstacle to their power is not the wickedness of Irishmen, but the virtues of the Irish people. By blunders, by blindness, by crimes, they have brought the two peoples into this grim and terrible tragedy—the conflict, not between order and crime, but between power and justice. The offense alleged against Ireland is that of encouraging and inciting the armed servants of the Crown to take the law into their own hands. The Prime Minister cannot deny this amazing charge: he has to sit silent when it is pressed in the House of Commons. Today, Ireland is full of stories of the personal behavior of these men, of murders and tortures of which they have been guilty. We have an illustration of their code of morality in the conduct of thirteen cadets who watched their comrades bully and insult and finally kill an old priest of seventy-three. These brutalities lasted a quarter of an hour, during which time these thirteen honorable and courageous men —chosen, as Sir Hamar Greenwood tells us, for their bravery in battle—watched the consummation of this cowardly murder. Such is their code and such is the code of their masters.

If it be objected that the London *Nation* is a chronic "kicker," let us turn to the Tory London *Times*. It allows Mr. Arthur Vincent to say in its columns that *"under the mask of enforcing law and order every canon of civilization has been broken."* That is precisely the finding of the American Commission to which Sir Auckland objects and which the *Evening Post* criticizes. Meanwhile it is gratifying to note that the *Tribune's* correspondent cables that the result of the printing of the American report in Ireland and of President Harding's indorsement of Irish relief has been "to force the issue and drive the Government to a more satisfactory position." This alone justifies the American report.

THE announcement of the increase to 9 per cent of the American Telephone and Telegraph Company's dividend the day after the courts had defeated New York City's final effort to stay the 30 per cent increase in the New York Telephone Company's rates on April 1, is atrocious insolence. Are corresponding announcements to be expected from the other electric light, gas, and traction companies, as soon as the increases which they are levying or about to levy are legally copper-fastened? As was pointed out in an article in last week's *Nation*, entitled Keeping the Cost of Living High, the American Telephone and Telegraph Company owns the New York Company and charges the latter a fee of 4½ per cent of its gross revenue for the use of instruments. The American Telephone Company has just experienced, according to its 1920 report, the most prosperous year in its history. Only indisputably demonstrated need could possibly justify any increase in rates in the metropolis, and a rise of 30 per cent in the cost of telephone service at a time when reduction in the cost of living is the universal need and demand seems nothing short of extortion. That the deciding vote in this award was cast by a former counsel for the New York Telephone Company, who by his position was disqualified on previous occasions from participating in the activities of the Public Utilities Commission, makes the matter only more atrocious. These utility rate increases now bid fair to be the controlling issue in the next municipal and gubernatorial elections in New York City and State.

WHILE believing that any family that wants to shoo away the stork has a right to do so, we do not feel that birth control should be imposed upon tenants by landlords, nor that children should be regarded in the real estate world as an opportunity for profiteering. If children are to be abolished, let us proceed to it legally, by Constitutional amendment, or humanely, by the lethal chamber. In the meanwhile, we approve of the bill in the Legislature of New York, which would make it a misdemeanor punishable by fine for the owner of a dwelling to refuse tenancy to any person because of children. We hope also that Boston will stop the practice that has developed there of boosting the rent upon arrival of a baby. Leases have been drawn with a clause reading: "This apartment is leased for a family of .... persons, and for each additional person in the family the rent shall automatically increase $10 per month." A man to whom twins were recently vouchsafed was at once billed $20 more rent a month. Give the stork a chance; give the children a chance; give the parents who have had the wisdom or folly to welcome them into a world of harsh butcher bills, inflated shoe prices, and miscellaneous costs plus—yes, give them a chance too.

THE Nevada law providing for a lethal gas chamber for the execution of persons condemned to death is a curious illustration of the development of public conscience in regard to capital punishment. To hang a man by the neck until he is dead or to shoot him (the methods now in vogue in Nevada) has apparently become distasteful to the public sense; so they attempt to humanize the institution by asphyxiating the victim. His suffering, mental as well as physical, may indeed be lessened by the new method; but with all that may be said for it, a human life will none the less have been taken. So it is with methods of warfare. Nations cry out against (though they use them) barbarous ways of waging war. But when all is said and done, with or without torture, poison gas, or dum-dum bullets, the purpose of all methods of warfare is the killing of human beings; and their slaughter is an anachronism in this supposed era of civilization. The substitution of lethal gas for other methods of execution is encouraging because it indicates a tendency, in spite of the brutalizing influence of the years of war, toward the mitigation of undue suffering. But let us hope that the consciences of the people of Nevada will not be made too comfortable by their new law, and that there as elsewhere enlightenment will proceed until the killing that the law calls execution is abolished.

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COLONEL HARVEY'S appointment as Ambassador to the Court of St. James's is the fruition of more than eight years' quest of the post. It was an open secret that this was his ambition during his ardent support of Woodrow Wilson. It now takes on the nature of a personal reward from Mr. Harding for campaign services rendered. Colonel Harvey was one of the small group that picked Mr. Harding for the Presidential nomination in a room at the Blackstone Hotel after the Chicago Convention was deadlocked, and, behind the scenes, he was of much comfort to the candidate during the canvass—one of Mr. Harding's most important speeches on international affairs is attributed to Colonel Harvey *in toto*. It is a far cry from Lowell, Motley, Bayard, Hay, and Choate to this appointment, but it is chiefly interesting as another revelation of the Harding mind—and taste. Great Britain will hardly thank the President. Colonel Harvey is often indiscreet, has been a sharp and bitter critic of England, and his absolutely anti-League stand will give no encouragement to the British advocates of saving what is left of League and treaty. But in this day of complete mediocrity and often unfitness in high office the choice of Colonel Harvey is far less shocking than it would have been eight years ago. Just when the relations between the two countries show growing strain, it is a genuine misfortune that our representative in London should not be of the type of a Lawrence Lowell or a Jacob Gould Schurman.

ONE of the chief points at issue between the Allies and Germany is whether the latter is taxing its people to the same extent as the victors in the war are assessing themselves. Experts disagree here; those of the Allies at Brussels expressly declared that the German direct taxes were so high as to constitute a danger to the further development of German industry and trade. In America we feel ourselves put upon because an income of $5,000 is taxed four per cent. The same income in Germany pays 46½ per cent and 56½ per cent if it is unearned income; it even pays 63 per cent if it is the unearned income of a corporation. A British official White Paper declares Germany is now taxed 43 per cent of her total income. Beyond question, however, Germany's indirect taxes are far lower than those of the Allies—a point the French constantly and effectively dwell upon. To this the Germans reply that they are in process of being increased but that it is doubtful, in view of existing economic conditions, whether raising them will not decrease consumption so as to make the net gain small. This is plainly not a convincing reply. That the Germans are willing to increase them shows that the limit of indirect taxes has not yet been reached; particularly because they have been freed from crushing army and navy burdens must they make every effort to go deeper into their pockets. They are on stronger ground when they point out to the Allies that Germany's power to pay cannot be reckoned, as Lloyd George seeks to, by her wealth and ability before the war; she has lost her merchant fleet, her colonies, her foreign property, and 12 per cent of her before-the-war population, besides having enormous domestic debts to carry.

THE State of New York is steadily plunging backward into the dark ages of war-time hysteria. The Assembly has just passed a bill—a small tribute, it appears, to the late activities of Senator Clayton R. Lusk—requiring public school teachers to take an oath of allegiance to the flag and to the Federal and State Constitutions. It was passed over Democratic opposition, and the presumption is that it will succeed in the Senate and be signed by the Governor. Apparently the Republicans, who seek to preserve our liberties by keeping them in mothballs, have an idea that the New York City schools are particularly affected by sedition. But ever since the Superintendent of Schools, Mr. Ettinger, preferred charges against Miss Sarah Hyams, accusing her of holding political views which unfit her for performing her duties as a teacher of cooking, the city has been perfectly safe. Neither the food nor the morals of our children shall be tainted with the virus of anti-Americanism or bolshevism, and liberty shall be kept strictly in its place.

CHARLES McCARTHY of Wisconsin, who died in Arizona almost unnoticed by the Eastern press the other day, was the father of the Legislative Reference Department at Madison. This comprises a library of facts relating to legislative procedure, a gold mine of information on every topic of pending interest, and the machinery for the drafting of bills by experts in law-making. To it the Wisconsin legislator, whether new or old, takes his way as soon as he has a bill to introduce, with the result that as nearly scientific measures as may be are drawn up for him on any topic he may select. From Wisconsin the idea spread from State into State; California and Indiana early summoned assistants of Dr. McCarthy to instal similar organizations; here in New York Columbia University instituted a legislative reference bureau of its own; and everywhere the results have been notable. Dr. McCarthy was a most unusual public servant; able, aggressive, devoted, he kept the work of his bureau at a high pitch with all the life and vigor of a keen private enterprise. He was one of those quiet workers, unable to advertise themselves, who perform public service of a value of which few have any idea, least of all the general public.

SINCE the middle of the last century the problem of adult education has interested fewer persons in the United States than it did before, but here and there signs now appear of a return of interest. One of the latest comes from Bryn Mawr, where the authorities of the college have announced a summer session for manual workers in charge of a joint committee of directors, alumnae, teachers, and various representatives of women in industry. The session will last eight weeks, the attendance will be limited to seventy students, and the necessary fees will be met by subscriptions and scholarships. The curriculum as tentatively planned includes required work in labor movements and problems, spoken English, composition, and parliamentary law, with elective courses in more advanced subjects of considerable variety. It seems to us an admirable scheme that workingwomen should thus have the opportunity to use the Bryn Mawr facilities during the long vacation, and that Bryn Mawr should have the opportunity to come in more intimate contact with labor than it has in the past. One feature which calls for particular commendation is the resolution of the joint administrative committee worded as follows: "Moved that the school shall not be committed to any dogma or theory, but shall conduct its teaching in a broad spirit of impartial inquiry, with absolute freedom of discussion and academic freedom of teaching."

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The First Move for Real Peace

NOTHING could be in better taste and spirit than Secretary Hughes's note to the Germans in reply to that of the Foreign Minister, Dr. Simons. It generously recognizes the sincerity of the German desire to make reparations and to reopen negotiations with the Allies and it is even capable of the interpretation that our Government may itself open the way for a resumption of the negotiations so needlessly broken off in London. Naturally Mr. Hughes reaffirms the Allied belief in Germany's responsibility for the war, but the important thing is that the Secretary is dealing with our former foes in frank friendliness and with apparent faith in their word. That is both generous and manly and almost as if in response to the recent moving appeal of the head of the Reichstag, Dr. Fehrenbach, in the New York *Times*, for fair and sympathetic treatment of the new German democracy.

Even more important is the fact that the Harding Administration is at last beginning to move in foreign affairs. At this writing there is unanimity in the press reports as to what the attitude of this Government is to be when Congress assembles. We are to conclude promptly a separate peace with Germany; we are not to enter the existing League of Nations, or ratify in any way the monstrous peace of Versailles, but we are to insist upon our rights in the settlement. Most striking of all, it is said we are to move in the direction of the Knox proposals for a new and better world order—not at once, of course, but, perhaps, in due time. If this proves to be Mr. Harding's course he and the country are to be congratulated upon it. It means that there will be no split in the Republican Party on foreign issues; that the Knox-Borah wing has won. It means also that M. Viviani's mission to the United States has failed to affect the President and his advisers. The sole concession to that brilliant orator seems to be the proposal—which we trust will be promptly dropped—to make it the "declared policy" of this Government that it will regard any situation threatening the freedom and peace of Europe "as a menace to its own peace and freedom." While such a declaration cannot be binding upon future Administrations unless they wish it to be, it is emphatically a position which this Government should not take. If it were to be submitted to the American people today it would be overwhelmingly voted down.

If this proposed declaration stands, it will, moreover, be made the excuse of navalists and militarists for generations to come to keep in being the nucleus of an expeditionary force and the necessary transports. We sincerely hope that there will be a sober second thought upon this doctrine so entirely contrary to the whole spirit of our American foreign policy. On its face the proposed declaration is as vague as it is illogical. How great is to be the menace upon which we shall interfere in the wars of Europe? And how are we to judge just when any future struggle, if one arises, is so clearly a menace to our peace and freedom as to cause us to consult with "our chief co-belligerents for the defense of civilization"? This is plainly fustian, but dangerous fustian. We do not believe that it will satisfy the Foch school of French militarists. If it is to be adopted at all it should equally apply to any situation in which France or Great Britain might be the aggressors. It is within the memory of living men that Great Britain with France as her ally warred against Russia—also a war widely heralded as *the* war to end war—and, incredible as it now seems, one of the avowed purposes was to safeguard Germany's integrity from Russian attack. Seventy-five years are as nothing in the history of Europe. Who shall say what new and strange alignments may not take place over there within ten years?

But, waiving that, it is profoundly encouraging to have it stated with apparent authority that we are to get away from the hideous lie we are living—the pretended state of war with Germany—and that we are to end the debate as to whether we shall or shall not enter the League of Nations and ratify the Versailles iniquity in any degree. Against both of these proposals *The Nation* has fought from the day the Treaty was published. It naturally rejoices that the long fight actually seems won and that Mr. Harding is convinced that the American people voted against treaty and League last fall. But it trusts that the President and Mr. Hughes will not stop there. The proposed steps will vitally clear the political and international atmosphere; beyond that we shall still need, however, a sailing chart. These are not destructive measures now announced; wreckage must be cleared away before new construction can arise on the foundations. But once this is done the new structure must be built. For that Senator Knox has pointed the way. If he is allowed to frame the future policy we believe it will be substantially in accord with the program laid down by *The Nation* last fall for building a new world order upon the Hague Court, upon the idea of the outlawing of war, and the deciding of all questions between nations by judicial processes with no distinction as to justiciable and non-justiciable.

This, as we have said, is for the immediate future. For today it is reason for gratitude that some steps forward are to be taken and taken promptly. We sincerely trust that the opportunity will be given to Mr. Harding to mediate between France and England and Germany. The friendly offices of the United States should always be at the disposal of the Allies. Mr. Hughes is plainly convinced that the Germans mean to do the right thing. Dr. Simons has repeatedly stated that every decent-minded German wants to repair the destruction in France. He rightly complains that apparently for political reasons the French have not even discussed the repeated German offers of "labor, technical advice, and material assistance," although for two years past the cleaning up of the devastated districts and their reconstruction have languished. Here is a chance for Mr. Hughes to inquire as to the attitude of the French Government. He stated, too, in his memorandum that the American Government stands with the Allies in insisting upon Germany's making reparation "to the limit of her ability to pay." That is correct and just. But what is the limit of her ability? That is the whole issue today, and here again Mr. Hughes has his opportunity. Liberal opponents of the League and the treaty have never wished the United States to withdraw from all cooperation with Europe. They have protested against any acceptance of the League because, as Mr. Lansing put it, that meant merely an "alliance of the five great military powers" in a league "to be the prey of greed and intrigue." We must help Europe in every possible way—financially, morally, and economically—but with our hands and our policies unfettered by League or treaty.

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How Open Is the "Open Shop"?

FOR about a year there has been an insistent campaign in this country for the "open" as opposed to what is called the "closed" shop. Theoretically, the open shop is one which employs both union and non-union men without prejudice to either, while the closed shop is one which accepts only union workers. Conceived in this way, there is some argument, and a strong superficial appeal, in favor of the open shop. By the very terms "open" and "closed," one's sympathies are enlisted on the side of the former. As a matter of experience, it is doubtful if many open shops of this kind are in existence. In trades which are divided between union and non-union workers, the usual method is not to mix them in the same shop, but to establish the various shops as union or non-union and apportion the workers accordingly. In any event, it would only confuse the issue to discuss here the merits of the theoretical open shop, because even if it be possible, it is not what the present campaign is aiming at. Behind fine phrases and clever propaganda, behind a patriotic appeal and such catchwords as "American plan," "no discrimination," "square deal for all," and "freedom of contract," the moving spirits of the present campaign have only thinly veiled their hostility to organized labor and their intention to break it so far as its capacity to accomplish anything useful for the wage worker is concerned. The great majority of the advocates of the "American plan" do not intend to establish an open shop, but one definitely closed to union workers. The minority which is still proposing to tolerate union workers is nevertheless planning to treat with them only as individuals, not collectively; which means, of course, that the value of unionization ceases to exist.

Indicative of the purpose of the "open shop" campaign is a pamphlet just published by the Bureau of Industrial Research of New York, in which Savel Zimand examines what has been written and said by the proponents of the policy and convicts them out of their own mouths. At the American Idea Convention in Chicago last January—the first national gathering in support of the "open shop"—one of the delegates said:

> It is unpopular to say you don't believe in the open shop, but I confess I do not quite know what the open shop means. To my mind it is a good deal of a question of non-union shop or unionized shop, and I hate to be a hypocrite under a resolution or anything else, or to vote or declare in favor of open shop when my own policy is not to carry that out, but to hit the head of the radical in my shop whenever he puts it up.

To this A. M. Glossbrenner of the Indiana Manufacturers' Association replied:

> I happen to be running a shop which I think is similar to yours, Mr. Gillette, in the manufacturing business, in that we will not employ an individual in any part of the plant that does not sign an individual contract in which it is expressed that he is not and will not become a member of a labor organization while in our employ. I am in favor of this resolution because the interpretation I give to it is that the open shop means to me that I can employ whomever I may please, as an individual employer.

One of the pieces of literature put out by the Associated Employers of Indianapolis is a "Notice to Our Employees," intended for posting in shops, which concludes as follows: "We will at all times, in the future as in the past, be glad to confer with any or all employees individually, on all matters *not* affecting shop policy or management; but we will not entertain shop committees."

The *Minnesota Banker* unmasks the whole movement with ingratiating frankness:

> The closed shop is zealously fought for by the radical wing of labor organization. The open shop can be the most readily brought about by the elimination of this element as a power in organized labor. . . . The open shop argument must be addressed, therefore, to the better sense and judgment of the conservative in organized labor. . . . Where the radical element is too strongly intrenched, there is, of course, but one final thing to do, and that is to beat them by force. They must be locked out and licked until the conservatives see the light. . . . This harsher method, however, should not be employed until all other plans have failed.

The intention of the "open shoppers," as they are dubbed in the labor world, to treat with employees only as individuals and thus destroy the value of unionization, is plain wherever their purposes have been defined beyond vague generalizations. This is recognized by impartial religious bodies like the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America and the National Catholic Welfare Council. The Social Action Department of the latter recently said that the real purpose of the open shop drive "is to destroy all effective labor unions, and then subject the working people to the complete domination of the employers." Objections to this statement were answered as follows:

> Several representatives of employer groups have protested to the Social Action Department against its declaration that the "open shop" is intended to destroy the unions. Upon examination every one of them admitted that the "open shop" which they are advocating would not permit dealing with the unions. The spokesman for the National Association of Manufacturers was informed that if that body would make a public statement to the effect that the "open shop" is consistent with proportional representation by the union employees in a system of collective bargaining, even confined to the individual shop, the Social Action Department would withdraw its statement against the "open shop." This gentleman declared that the National Association of Manufacturers would make no such statement, and admitted that this organization really desired to cripple the unions. Up to the present no authorized representative of an "open shop" organization has denied that collective bargaining with the union is inconsistent with the "open shop."

The Catholic Welfare Council further reminded its critics:

> Testifying before the Lockwood housing committee in New York, December 16, 1920, Mr. Eugene G. Grace, president of the Bethlehem Steel Corporation, declared that he maintained an "open shop," but that he would not deal with unions, even though they embraced 95 per cent of his employees. Not only did he maintain that kind of "open shop" in his own corporation, but in conjunction with other makers of steel he refused to sell his product to builders who would not adopt the same policy. A few days later, before the same committee, Mr. Cheney, the secretary of the Erectors' Association, admitted that this organization, together with the National Fabricators' Association, had formally adopted the "open shop" policy, and that with these organizations this policy meant not only no dealings with the union, but no employment of union members. He confessed that "an open shop is a shop in which the foremen are expected to see to it that there are no union men."

In brief, the "open shop" drive is for the destruction of unionism through elimination of its most vital weapon, collective bargaining. Of this the War Labor Board said in the principles that it laid down for the government of industry: "The right of workers to organize in unions and to bargain collectively through chosen representatives is recog-

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nized and affirmed. This right shall not be denied, abridged, or interfered with by the employers in any manner."

We have come, therefore, to a turning-point in industrial policy. If the people of America want to deprive the wage earner of the small share in the control of industry—and thus of his own life—that he has obtained through organization, they have that right; but they ought to know that they are doing it. If they want to strengthen the grip on our national destinies of the Steel Corporation and the big banks, of the exploiters and the profiteers, they have that right; but they ought not to be misled by pretty phrases into imagining that they are furthering freedom and justice in industry. If they want the term "American plan" to become synonymous with economic czarism, they have that right; but they ought to stop talking about the closed or the open shop, and, facing realities, speak instead of the union or the anti-union shop. They ought to call a spade a spade, a club a club, and a knave a knave. They ought to know that they are getting not an open shop openly arrived at, but an anti-union shop secretly attained.

The Orchestra to the Front

TWENTY-TWO orchestra concerts in one week—this is one of the facts which has made this winter in New York a notable one in the sphere of music. Our metropolis is now the musical capital of the world, the Mecca of soloists, the possessor of the best opera. It has not only rejoiced in three large orchestras of its own, it has been visited by those of Boston, Philadelphia, Cincinnati, and Minneapolis, and the Chicago Opera, while Toscanini and La Scala's orchestra were cheered to the echo by the Italian colony and by those who like to hear a virtuoso play upon an instrument greatly in need of a drill-master to smooth out many rough places. To see a great American audience wildly applauding Toscanini's Italians for their rendering of music by such Huns as Wagner and Beethoven was encouraging proof that in some respects we are beginning to get away from war hatreds—even if Beethoven would not have recognized his own creations as interpreted by Toscanini. Besides Toscanini, Mengelberg, the Hollander, has stirred his listeners to enthusiasm.

If all the band concerts were not well patronized there is still encouraging proof that the taste for good orchestral music steadily improves, that there is less and less need of using soloists as a lure, and that the public knows better and better how to discriminate between orchestras. Severely classical programs have drawn well. Every seat was sold for the Philadelphia series, as it should have been, for that organization has greatly improved, while the many empty seats at the Boston Symphony concerts testify that the public knows that that once preeminent orchestra has still far to go to regain the place lost to it by the war and by its German conductor. M. Monteux, the present French conductor, has started it on the right road, but it is doubtful if he possesses the leadership that is needed to restore it to its old place. Formerly lovers of music waited for years to succeed to subscribers' tickets for the Boston Symphony; now they receive letters begging for their support. As for the National Symphony Orchestra, led this winter by both Mengelberg and Bodanzky, this ambitious effort has already come to an end and its amalgamation with the Philharmonic has been announced. This is as it should be. Populous and rich as New York is, it does not need three large concert orchestras in addition to all the minor ones. What it should have is one great, adequately endowed and supported organization, equipped to do the best possible work.

The stumbling-block of late has been that the fashionable world and many of the critics have persistently belittled the Philharmonic's conductor, Josef Stransky. They declared him to be an excellent drill-master but no musician; a good man to select musicians, and an excellent program maker, but as a conductor lacking inspiration and passion. This the public has refused to believe and so the Philharmonic has sold out 90 per cent of its concerts. There are no audiences more discriminating than the Philharmonic's and the subscription sale is now four times what it was when Mr. Stransky took hold. The deficit of the National Symphony ran into the hundreds of thousands despite the craze for Bodanzky, and so a venture that should never have been begun had to end. Mr. Damrosch and his generous Maecenas still struggle on with the New York Symphony and are asking an English conductor, Albert Coates, to share the directing next winter. But it, too, should amalgamate with the Philharmonic. When all is said and done Mr. Stransky is the only conductor to fill houses even when he has no soloist to star. Some of the money that has gone into deficits should have given New York the new concert hall it needs—if Carnegie Hall should burn the music season would almost stop. If then, the new movement for an orchestra training-school should be linked up with the Philharmonic, we should be certain of one national orchestra supreme in its skill and its art.

North Dakota Goes to the People

AFFAIRS in North Dakota have taken a turn which must profoundly interest all friends of true democracy. The banking interests having refused to handle the bond issue needed to carry out the State's program, North Dakota is now writing a new page in our financial history by offering its $6,000,000 of bonds directly to the people. The State's announcement appears elsewhere in this issue.

The North Dakota program has constantly been attacked as "radical" and "un-American." It happens to be neither. Its collapse has been frequently prophesied and recorded. It hasn't collapsed and isn't likely to, although nearly every means, fair and foul, at the command of the forces of exploitation have been employed in the attempt to wreck it. In North Dakota, an agricultural community, the ownership of the mills and elevators through which the State's products pass was almost monopolized. Taxation, distribution, marketing were all organized against the farmer—the producer who gave his unremitting toil and his small capital—and also against the ultimate consumer. Between the two, the exploiters neatly extracted most of the wheat and the gold, leaving little but chaff and dross. For years the farmers attempted organization in vain. Their efforts were carefully hamstrung, until they came to realize that their only hope lay in gaining political control of the State. So they organized the Nonpartisan League, and with State-owned grain elevators and flour mills and rural credits at cost as chief planks, elected in 1918 a complete State ticket.

The anti-League forces mobilized swiftly their full national war strength. The varied assortment of assaults which the ingenuity of high-priced corporation lawyers could devise is too long to recount here fully. A series of

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injunctions necessitating the lengthy process of appeal through the courts to the Supreme Court of the United States, which inevitably postponed the execution of the Nonpartisan program; a press propaganda of unparalleled misrepresentation; a carefully planned political campaign which falsely pretended sympathy with League policies with merely slight divergence in method—all these, combined with successive crop failures, and the country-wide business disintegration due to deflation, enabled the opposition to obtain a slight majority in the lower house of the North Dakota Legislature. The League retained control of the Senate, together with a majority of the executive officers and the all-important Industrial Commission. The nature of the assaults on the Nonpartisans is now wholly clear and the next election should mean a victory for the League. Meanwhile the control of the House has enabled the opposition to continue for the time being its efforts at sabotage and the recall of State officials has been set in motion.

The State needs the proceeds of its bonds sale to carry out its program, which has made a most promising beginning despite great handicaps. And here it is important to emphasize that this program is not selfish, not, as has been charged, a class program designed to benefit only the farmers. True, it aims to insure a square deal for the farmer, but equally does it benefit the ultimate consumer. The small State flour mill which was purchased in 1919, pending the erection of a larger one, while making a fair profit above expenses, succeeded in paying the farmer an average of 12 cents per bushel more for his wheat than he had been receiving and in selling the flour at 50 cents less per barrel and feed at $7.50 less per ton than the price charged by other dealers and mills. This small mill alone will save the farmers and consumers tens of thousands of dollars annually. Then there is the Home Building Association which under State auspices erects modest city and farm homes on easy payment terms. How bolshevistic, in these days of housing shortage and rent profiteering, to make it possible for families of small means to own their own homes! And, finally, among other enterprises whose specific purpose is to serve the people is the State bank which aims to assist the small farmer and business man in financial distress.

So a great opportunity confronts the liberty-loving people of the United States. Every one of them may do his bit to make the North Dakota program a success; and this opportunity is afforded without risk. The State bonds, netting 5½ to 6 per cent, are even in these days of high interest rates an attractive investment, especially in view of their tax exemption and safety. Most State and municipal issues floated in the last year have borne a lower interest rate, and no State can show so small an indebtedness—there is only $340,000 ahead of this issue. It is important to note here, too, that this bond issue, which has been legalized by the United States Supreme Court, will be just as valid as to interest and principal even if the Nonpartisan League should be swept out of office. The obligation on the State and its entire taxing power would continue unchanged. In these times of reaction one often hears the plaint that there is so little that the ordinary citizen can do. Here is his chance. He should subscribe freely to the North Dakota State bonds, and get his friends to do so. He will not only be making his contribution toward establishing a most hopeful economic development; he will be striking a direct blow at the financial control which would dictate to and coerce the will of a sovereign people of an American State.

John Burroughs

JOHN BURROUGHS seemed old to many of his readers, but measured by anything but mere linear years he was older than he seemed to most of them. Measured, for instance, by reference to the fame of Whitman, Burroughs went back to the days when he was a clerk in the Treasury, and Whitman, then likewise a Government clerk, was dismissed from his post by a Secretary of the Interior who now survives in the memory of his nation chiefly by reason of this episode. Burroughs wrote the earliest book ever written about his greatest friend, and for more than half a century he neither forgot nor long neglected to praise Whitman's large sanity and seerlike wisdom. Measured by the reputation of Thoreau, of whom it was easy for the most casual to perceive that Burroughs was in some fashion a disciple, he went back so far that he had been seventeen when "Walden" came into the world, and he began himself to write about birds and green fields before Thoreau died. And measured by a line even longer than the fame of either Whitman or Thoreau, Burroughs went back so nearly to the origins of American literature that he saw the Catskills, of which he was to remain the particular singer and annalist, within three or four years after Irving, heretofore acquainted with them only from the deck of a Hudson River boat, had first visited the neighborhood already sacred to the quite mythical but also immortal spook of Rip Van Winkle.

To mention Irving is to suggest a comparison actually more fruitful than that which some thousands of pens have recently made between Burroughs and Thoreau. The bland old man whose beard was latterly as well known in these States as was that of Bryant in its proper day, had hardly anything in common, except an affectionate concern for external nature, with the dry, hard, vivid Yankee who acted out his anarchistic principles on the shores of Walden Pond and fiercely proclaimed the duty of civil disobedience to all men who might find the world traveling along false paths. Burroughs had in him too much of the milk of American kindness to thrive in a comparison with an authentic genius like Thoreau, who might not be half the naturalist that Burroughs was but was twice the poet and a dozen times the pungent critic of human life. Nor, in another direction, does Burroughs appear to much advantage by comparison with Whitman, who had a cosmic reach and a prophetic lift and thrust that never visited Slabsides. Rather, for all Burroughs employed a modern idiom and took to the country instead of staying snugly in town, he points back to the earlier tradition of smoothness and urbane kindness and level optimism which Irving practiced. Did Burroughs not but a few weeks ago take a mild exception to the "naked realism" of Howells? In that phrase a very old school speaks. Perhaps we shall in the long run remember best that Burroughs annually made one of an odd triumvirate of campers which included besides him Thomas A. Edison and Henry Ford. Let us, for the sake of seeing the group in its true perspective, call Mr. Ford the village blacksmith who happens to have the fortunate touch of Midas; let us call Mr. Edison the village inventor who happens to have the touch of a mechanical Merlin; let us call Burroughs the village naturalist who to his native instincts adds the winning gift of language and makes himself heard, as his friends do by their machines, outside the village.

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Mexico—1921

III. Restoring the Land to the People

By PAUL HANNA

ACROSS the white sheet, in a darkened reception room, the hills and valleys of Morelos sweep in smooth panorama. Fields of swaying cane, little groups of surveyors, cattle at pasture, and crowds of peons claiming their land dance past to the purr of the cinema crank. The procession ends. Lights flare up and a servant appears with refreshments on a polished tray. Rafael Cal y Mayor, "bandit" chief, general and boy, is still gazing at the empty screen as he sips from his glass. "I have fought for eight years; I fight no more," he says softly. But we all hear, and feel that another act in Mexico's drama has come to an end. The story of Cal y Mayor and Chiapas state is the story of Zapata and Morelos state. And in their joint stories one finds the first cause of Mexican unrest and the history of ten years of revolution. Today these states and the rest of Mexico are as peaceful as Kansas, and for the same reason. The natives have got pretty much what they want. For "Land and Liberty" they fought for ten years, and won. Today their claim to both is undisputed.

Morelos state is small in area, rich of soil, and lies close to Mexico City. In the days of Porfirio Diaz it had a population of 172,000, of whom thirty-two families owned three-fourths of the land and lived sumptuously in foreign parts on the income from rich harvests of sugar, rice, coffee, and orchard crops. Then came the Zapata brothers, calling the peons to revolt. Since then so many have been killed in or have fled from the struggle that Morelos has only 60,000 inhabitants. South of Morelos lies Chiapas. There the young medical student Cal y Mayor painted his banner with the Zapata slogan of "Land and Liberty," and with most of the peons at his back fortified the heights along a river which is the main highway to and from Chiapas. Under his direction the peons found time to till the soil for themselves as well as whip off Carranza's troops from time to time, while the "bandit" movement spread through several adjoining states under local chieftains. Sometimes these agrarian outlaw leaders became corrupt. Often they were cruel. In many ways they mirrored back the tyranny they strove to overthrow. But always they voiced the aspirations and enjoyed the loyalty of peons battling to be free.

"While Emiliano Zapata lived I acknowledged him as chief of the agrarian revolt," Cal y Mayor told me the night I was entertained at his home in Mexico City. "When he and his brother were killed by Carranza we in Chiapas, Tabasco, Campeche, and elsewhere kept up the fight without any commander-in-chief. When Carranza fell our cause triumphed. The war is over." General Gilbardo Magana grasped the standard that was shot out of the hands of Zapata in Morelos. Today Magana is director general of fifty land colonies established by and for so-called bandits in various parts of the Republic. His chief is General Antonio I. Villareal, Secretary of Agriculture. American liberals will recall Villareal as the youthful intellectual who was imprisoned in the United States during the Taft administration, charged with plotting on American soil against the "friendly" government of Porfirio Diaz.

In the strategic cabinet post he now occupies I found him weary with overwork, but zealous and happy in his great opportunity to solve Mexico's agrarian problem. Reception room, staircase, and patio leading to his office were crowded with Indians from the distant country on the day I called upon Secretary Villareal. Scores of them, I was told, had crossed mountain and desert on foot to look for the first time upon a great city and test at its source the strange, glad rumor that a peon could have land for the asking. This huge, silent, yet eager band of petitioners in person might have filled any official with apprehension or dismay. They filled Villareal's heart with delight. He welcomed them as couriers who in their remote homes would soon spread among crushed and doubting peasants the truth that Mexico is reborn and serfdom ended.

"Since Carranza fell we have restored to five hundred towns the communal lands stolen from them during the past century. Within another year thirty-five hundred more pueblos will recover their lands," Villareal explained. "Then there will be no more danger of revolution in Mexico, for the agrarian problem will be solved. I have never been so hopeful as now," he continued. "We have fifteen million people and far more than enough land for all of them. With all our people hard at work they could not till the land we have. We must attract a flow of farmer immigrants to Mexico. Merchants, business men, and capitalists will be welcomed also, but the great need of our country is more men to cultivate her rich soil. Here," said the agrarian idealist, "is a letter that will be signed by President Obregon and myself and sent off tomorrow. It is addressed to the representatives of 50,000 Mennonites now living in Canada who have asked for land in Mexico." I read the paper he handed me. It began with a cordial greeting to the churchmen and followed up with a specific offer of land, plus the following concessions about which the Mennonites had asked especially: Complete freedom from military service. Total exemption from an oath of allegiance. Freedom to worship as the colonists wished. Freedom to establish and maintain schools separate from the national educational system. Freedom to organize communal means to raise and market their products. "And tomorrow," said Villareal as I returned the letter, "the leaders of 25,000 more Mennonites will arrive at the northern border to arrange for the migration of their brethren from the United States to Mexico. They will be offered land virtually on their own terms." To one reared in the Quaker surroundings and traditions of Pennsylvania it was not altogether pleasant to hear this zealous Mexican official describe, however simply, the flight of religious bodies from the United States to another country where they will escape military service and be free to worship as conscience dictates.

In many parts of Mexico the peon lost his land because he loved it too much. That is, the peon would rather toil for a pittance on his own or the common village land than go to work for a larger reward in wages on the great private estates which came to adjoin the native pueblos. When wages failed to lure the peons onto the big estates the proud haciendados who adorned the reign of Porfirio Diaz hit upon the simple plan of taking the village lands away so

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that the inhabitants would be forced to till the private estates to earn a living. Mexico's "first families" secured title to public domains because they wanted land. They took what was left of the village communal lands in order to get labor. When they got both these essentials to their happiness the peons rose up in a rebellion which continued for a solid decade and brought the lands back to the people. If anyone in Mexico, or from abroad, tries to restore the old order there will be more revolutions here. It should be understood that redistribution of lands does not proceed with the same speed in all localities. In states like Morelos, where the peons were most determined and successful during the revolution and are still armed to hold their own, there are thirty-five state engineers at work making allotments, and the job will soon be finished there. In states where the crushed peasantry remained dormant during the upheaval the local authorities reflect this lethargy and the program lags. The Obregon administration believes in "state's rights" and concerns itself only with Federal lands or estates obtained through Federal grants. The lands now being distributed in Mexico are obtained from four chief sources:

1. Old pueblo communal lands which originally, by Spanish decree, embraced a radius of three miles surrounding the village church. Present "private owners" of such lands are deemed to have no title and are not compensated. To these original communal areas large additions are being made to fit the enlarged necessities of growing pueblos.

2. Large areas are being recovered from individuals and corporations that have held choice concessions for speculation and failed to fulfil original stipulations.

3. Under Diaz a so-called agrarian bank was established with public funds to help needy small farmers. Its capital, I am told, was borrowed chiefly by rich haciendados who managed for years to avoid paying even the nominal interest agreed to. These perfectly legal government mortgages are now being enforced by the Obregon administration, which carves land for the peons from the estates of those who defrauded the Government of its interest.

4. Article 27 of the new Constitution says in part: "The nation shall have at all times the right to put private property to the uses which the public interest demands. . . . With this object in view necessary measures shall be dictated for the division of the large estates; for the development of the small properties; for the creation of new agricultural communities, etc."

Excepting those tracts which must be taken to accommodate adjoining populous villages, I do not think that large private estates will be generally broken up in this process of distribution. There is no such scarcity of land. Vast speculative tracts that have lain fallow for years are being taken. For example the title to all Federal lands obtained since the Diaz reign began in 1876 are being rigorously examined. The friends of José Ives Limantour, for many years Minister of Finance, and of other persons who enjoyed the bounty of Don Porfirio, will be interested in current executive decrees, of which the following is a good example:

Pursuing our duty to review all contracts and concessions made by previous governments, since the year 1876, which involve the ownership of land, water, and other natural resources, and being empowered by the last paragraph of Article 27 of the Constitution to declare null such contracts when they involve grave injury to the national welfare, the Secretary of Agriculture will forthwith proceed to study the concession granted to José and Julio Limantour, with a view to canceling said concession if such cancelation shall be found justifiable. The individuals named, or their representatives, shall be notified of this procedure and be given thirty days in which to appear before the Secretary of Agriculture to present their views and defense of the concession.

[Signed] ALVARO OBREGON, President of the Republic.

On the train from Saltillo to San Luis Potosi I talked with a young man whose family owns 47,000 acres of tillable land. Only 12,000 acres of it are under cultivation this year. He and his brothers and sisters were educated partly in the United States and have spent long periods in Europe. They and their friends regard the distribution of small tracts of land as a species of intolerable "bolshevism."

During his first months in office President Carranza did well by the peons in the matter of land grants. Secretary Villareal's assistants showed me the record of 195,713 hectares "donated" and 30,811 hectares "restored" to villages during the five years of Carranza's regime. Against Carranza's total of 226,524 hectares in five years, the De la Huerta-Obregon administrations place a total of 136,957 hectares donated and restored during six months following the fall of Carranza. To Federal and State governments alike it has seemed important first to give the peons their land and leave the problem of compensation for later discussion and legislation. One rule under which the Federal authorities have operated provides for payment to private owners of "the assessed value plus ten per cent." The Diaz regime was so good to its favorites that many rich areas were assessed at 1 cent an acre! Despite its undeniable poverty, the Obregon administration can still afford to buy farms for peons at a cent and one-tenth an acre.

During the present month Secretary Villareal presented to Congress a new bill to regulate the distribution of land. It is designed to supersede all present regulations and is regarded as sure to be adopted. This measure abrogates the law of December 28, 1920, declares the Carranza decree of September 19, 1916, without force since the present Constitution was adopted in 1917, and gives the President full authority to create future agrarian commissions and prescribe their rules of procedure. Formal distributions of land took place in Morelos state every Sunday during February of this year. I have talked with Mexican officials and American civilians who witnessed these simple but effective ceremonies and have seen motion pictures taken on the spot. Tenextepango and Zacatepec are two towns where the Morelos peons received their farms on February 20. With each donation of land in this region goes one new American plow. Fifteen hundred such plows have been given away, and my friends who witnessed the event at Tenextepango tell me they saw many hundreds more stored in public buildings there awaiting their peon claimants. It is the ambition of Morelos officials to add a team of mules to the gift of land and plow. Ten years of war depleted the state's former abundant supply of work animals. To avoid confusion, accelerate the program, and shield the peon against future lawsuits, the state authorities have prepared printed application blanks to which the simple Indian need only affix his name, after a clerk has set down the tract of ground desired by the applicant.

Estates of sixty acres or less are immune from seizure in Morelos. And the new farms being created there are limited at present to twelve acres each. In the body of the proclamation it is explained that the lack of modern agricultural machinery makes it impossible for a peon to till more

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than twelve acres, especially in a region where crops ripen all the year around. It is further stipulated that as soon as modern machinery is obtained, either by individual farmers or through Government donation, the grants shall be increased. The present Governor of Morelos is Dr. José G. Parres, and the Secretary of State is General Carlos Peralta, a graduate of the engineering school of Lehigh University. The state's intellectual leader is A. Diaz Sota y Gama, who now champions her agrarian program as a member of the national Chamber of Deputies. All these men are veteran partisans of the Zapatista movement.

All farm machinery is admitted to Mexico free of duty, and the freight rate on it reduced 50 per cent. Under Villareal the Department of Agriculture has become the country's heaviest purchaser of farm machinery, which it resells on easy terms to all who have need of it.

In the course of a luncheon at which Secretary Villareal was my host, he said:

> Our ambition is to have every state in the Republic establish at least one agricultural school. Of Federal schools there will certainly be three: one for soil and crop experts, one for veterinaries, and one for agricultural mechanics. And to combat the peon's prejudice against steel plows we are opening fifteen special schools at which the sons of farmers will be invited to stay at government expense to familiarize themselves with the use of machinery. It is agreed that all revenue in excess of previous appropriations shall be devoted to agricultural promotion work, through our department, and I anticipate that provision will give us at least 15,000,000 pesos during the coming year. Much of this money will be spent on irrigation projects. On the Rio Lerma, in Guanajuate state, a reservoir is now being constructed which will supply 100,000 acres in a rich tract where 425,000 acres are awaiting irrigation. A similar enterprise is already under way on the Rio Naza, in Chihuahua.

It was not until February of this year that the Church consented "in principle" to the land distribution policy. And the Archbishop of Mexico City announced through the press that the program should be suspended until the Government should have funds in hand with which to compensate private owners. In reply Secretary Villareal called the prelate's attention to the large properties held by the Mexican clergy, which he said was "one of the richest in the world," and said a test of the Archbishop's good faith would be his willingness to pledge those properties to assist in solving the agrarian problem.

Of the judiciary's part in the land issue I was told this story. Some private owners in Morelos brought suit in the Supreme Court last fall to stay the land distribution in their state, and they got a favorable decision. In response, the Zapatistas sent word that they did not understand how a group of men sitting in Mexico City could understand the agrarian problems of Morelos; would the honorable court be so kind as to visit Morelos, take testimony there, and render its decision on the spot? Were that not done, said the memorandum, the people of Morelos would not feel bound by the verdict. Soon afterward the Supreme Court ascertained that it was really the Senate that possessed final jurisdiction in the case. To that finding the Senate demurred. The case is now somewhere in transit between those two august bodies.

"Let's Have Done With Wiggle and Wobble"

By DONALD BRYANT

THE twins, Wiggle and Wobble, those two *enfants terribles*, for all the invectives and maledictions leveled at their heads by the Republicans last year, were to be observed scurrying about the departmental buildings and the White House on March 5 much as if they had never been disturbed. Master Wobble is reported to have made the White House and the executive offices his peculiar domain. It is reliably reported that on any morning or afternoon he may be seen about the White House grounds. Whether this is true or not, it is certain that Wiggle, his brother, has found safe retreat in the State Department, adjacent to the White House, a fact to which virtually every Washington newspaper correspondent recently attendant upon the press conferences conducted by the Secretary and the Under-Secretary of State may bear abundant testimony. To every question of foreign policy raised by the correspondents in their daily conferences with the Under-Secretary of State, Master Wiggle is there, clutching the coattails of Mr. Fletcher and returning a saucy face. And with the daily responses of "I don't know" of Mr. Fletcher, Wiggle makes a movement as if to thumb his nose and to say: "You won't know as long as I'm around, and I intend to stay." These are gloomy, unproductive days for Washington newspapermen and days of uncertainty and unrest for the public desirous of making itself acquainted with the foreign policy of the new Administration.

On March 18, Mr. F. W. Wile of the Philadelphia *Public Ledger* Service commented in the columns of his Republican newspaper as follows:

> A Washington newspaper [the *Herald*] publishes an editorial congratulating the newspaper fraternity on the dawn of "a newsy Administration" and the wealth of news it already has begun to produce. The correspondents at the capital feel there is cause for commiseration, not congratulation. The oldest journalistic inhabitant cannot remember a fortnight following the inauguration of a new President that has been so unproductive of "big news" as the two weeks ending tomorrow. Both at the White House and the important government departments little but platitudes and generalities is available. Decisions and developments are few and far between.

Aside from the controversy into which the State Department has entered with Panama and Costa Rica there has been no information of consequence imparted to the press by the State Department. In the week of March 12-19 Secretary of State Hughes took occasion but twice to meet representatives of the press at the stated conferences held twice daily at the State Department and which all former secretaries of state have been accustomed to attend once daily. But once, since he has been Secretary of State, has he entered into any informal discussion respecting foreign affairs of the United States, and that briefly to declare that the rights acquired by American participation in the World War would be maintained by the new Administration.

Under-Secretary of State Fletcher, while he has met newspapermen more regularly, has had even less to say than Secretary Hughes. Asked as to the motive behind the retention in Paris of Roland W. Boyden, former American representative on the Reparations Commission, who was withdrawn by the Wilson Administration, he has con-

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tented himself with the enigmatic reply that it was done "pending a decision." What that decision means, whether it has to do with the definition of the American attitude toward the Treaty of Versailles as such action would imply—despite the shrill scream from the Capitol that the treaty and all its works are dead—would seem to be left to the inference of the most imaginative and speculative of the Washington correspondents.

The injustice of this not alone to newspapermen but as well to the public whom they represent is manifestly apparent. Secretary Hughes and Under-Secretary of State Fletcher both presume to represent the people of the United States, but so are the newspapermen representing the people or at least the medium through which the public is kept informed of the doings of its public servants.

While the foreign offices of most foreign governments are subject to interpellations in open Parliament by the representatives of the people as to their acts in the conduct of the people's affairs, in the United States the officials of the State Department are immune from any other interrogations than those propounded by representatives of the press. Once the newspaper conferences conducted by the Secretary and Under-Secretary of State have been stripped of all but their most perfunctory character, there can be no other knowledge obtained by the public of what is transpiring in foreign relations than that which the State Department sees fit to make public at its own proper time or what leaks out from foreign sources.

On March 7 a hint of the presence of Master Wiggle in the environs of the State Department was contained in a Washington dispatch to the New York *Times*.

> Developments today [it was stated] gave an intimation of what the policy of the Harding Administration will be in dealing with the press, and the impression created was not reassuring to those who believe that the American people are entitled to be kept informed of what their Government is doing. . . . The first development came through Charles E. Hughes, the new Secretary of State, who expressed to newspapermen his displeasure over the publication of the fact that identical notes had been sent by him to the Governments of Panama and Costa Rica, calling on them to cease hostilities. The subject was also taken up by Mr. Hughes with officers of the State Department, and altogether his course indicated that he had taken the matter very seriously and would endeavor to prevent the press from making statements concerning the policies and moves of the Department unless publication was officially authorized. . . .
>
> The doctrine enunciated by Secretary Hughes today has long been a theory, in a somewhat modified form, of State Department procedure. Mr. Hughes has gone a step further than most of his predecessors in recent years in holding apparently that the newspapers are bound to withhold any statement regarding State Department affairs unless he gives permission for them to print it. This would mean that if the State Department embarked upon an important policy that would have a very decisive bearing upon the welfare of the country the American people would not be entitled to know anything about it until the Government chose to inform them. As the formula for the conduct of the press was outlined today, expression of public opinion would be withheld until it suited the convenience or purpose of the powers that be in Washington to take them into its confidence in a formal, official way. Current discussion would be limited to the information that the Government chose to make known, if it was made known at all.

With the adoption of such a policy by Mr. Hughes and the practical abandonment of the press conferences, Washington correspondents are muzzled almost as effectually as was the German press in the heyday of Prussianism.

It is no secret among Washington newspapermen that for the publication of certain "unauthorized" news stories, secret service agents of the State Department have subjected correspondents to an inquisition to obtain the source of their information in order to prevent any further leakage to the public of news whose publication was considered by officials inadvisable. Within only the last ten days it is known that Secretary Hughes has directed officials of the Department of State to communicate with the Washington bureaus of newspapers in order to ask that they request their papers to desist from commenting editorially upon a note which, it was reported, the United States had sent to Panama and whose publication he had not authorized.

Since the beginning of the war there has been a standing rule of the State Department forbidding the communication of any newspaper man with any other officials than the Secretary or the Under-Secretary of State. There was a time when press correspondents might interview with perfect freedom the chiefs of the Mexican Division, the Near East Division, or the Division of Far Eastern Affairs. But since the war a censorship department has been maintained known as the Division of Foreign Intelligence, whose ostensible business it has been to act as the point of contact between the State Department and the press. Since the armistice, however, its function has been chiefly the suppression of news rather than its dissemination, and with the new policy inaugurated by Secretary Hughes it has been the abiding place of Master Wiggle and the echo of the "I don't know" of Under-Secretary of State Fletcher.

The general public has little realization of the public service rendered by the Washington correspondent in laying bare the doings of the State Department or of the difficulties which one finds barring his way to a knowledge of the conduct of foreign relations by the State Department of which it is deemed fitting the public should be apprised. Before the war it was the custom of the State Department to make public at the end of each year a Red Book, containing the diplomatic correspondence engaged in during the preceding year by the United States with foreign governments. Publication of a Red Book has long since ceased, however, and it is only by the perseverance and ingenuity of the newspapermen who give attention to the affairs of the State Department that the present correspondence of the United States ever sees the light of day.

It might be recalled that one of the most important diplomatic exchanges into which the Wilson Administration entered in its last days, that with the Japanese Government over the occupation by the latter country of the Russian half of the Island of Saghalin, has never been made public, and it is doubtful if its existence would ever have been made known to the American people but for the faithful observance on the part of the newspapermen of that which was passing behind the scenes of the censorship imposed by the Division of Foreign Intelligence.

Perhaps some day, however, there will be an enforced housecleaning of the State Department which will spread to the White House so that we will truly have done with those pernicious infants Wiggle and Wobble. At present they do not appear changed appreciably from the pair that has been in evidence for eight years, unless indeed they have grown a little bolder, a little bigger, a little more thoroughly at home in the last four weeks.

Is this a democracy, and are the officials at Washington the masters or the servants of the American people?

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EXEMPT FROM ALL TAXES

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They base their refusal on no question of security or validity.

They have admitted that in point of safety and interest yield, North Dakota bonds are second to no other State bonds that have been floated. (The total outstanding debt of the State of North Dakota—$340,000—is unique as the lowest indebtedness of any State in the Union.)

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BOND ISSUE

NORTH DAKOTA

INCLUDING FEDERAL INCOME TAX

Issued in Denominations of $1000, $500, $100

STATEMENT OF ASSETS AND RESOURCES

Total area of State	70,837	square miles
Total tillable land	29,159,300	acres
Total land under cultivation	17,033,885	acres
Tons of coal in ground (estimate)	600,000,000,000	tons
Assessed valuation (1920) of all private property	$1,600,000,000	
In addition the State owns—		
Securities valued at	$25,000,000	
Buildings valued at	7,034,353	
Unsold land—1,547,117 acres—valued at	22,242,617	
Total property owned by State exceeds	$50,000,000	

LIST OF BONDS ISSUED BY THE STATE OF NORTH DAKOTA AND NOW OFFERED

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Series	*Amount*	*Date Issued*	*Interest Rate*	*Denominations*	*Maturities*	*At*	*To Yield*
Bank	$958,000	7-1-1919	5%	$100; 500	July 1, 1929	96.64	5½%
Bank	992,000	7-1-1919	5%	1,000	July 1, 1934	95.28	5½%
Real Estate	300,000	7-1-1921	5¾%	100	July 1, 1931	100.00	5¾%
Real Estate	300,000	7-1-1921	5¾%	100	July 1, 1936	100.00	5¾%
Real Estate	450,000	7-1-1921	5¾%	500	July 1, 1941	100.00	5¾%
Real Estate	600,000	7-1-1921	5¾%	1,000	July 1, 1946	100.00	5¾%
Real Estate	1,350,000	7-1-1921	5¾%	1,000	July 1, 1948	100.00	5¾%
Mill & Elevator	500,000	7-1-1921	6%	100; 500	July 1, 1941	100.00	6%
Mill & Elevator	500,000	7-1-1921	6%	1,000	July 1, 1946	100.00	6%

Interest payable semi-annually, January 1st and July 1st. At price indicated in Column 7 and interest.

(There is no material difference in the security behind these issues. The shorter term bonds yield a slightly lower interest rate, but all are equally secured by the entire faith and assets of the State of North Dakota.)

Fill out the coupon below (or a similar one) and mail with cheque, draft or money order to Spurgeon Odell, Special Representative, Bank of North Dakota, 20 Vesey Street, New York City.

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SPURGEON ODELL, Special Representative, 20 Vesey Street, New York City.

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Correspondence

Irish and American Independence

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Mr. Colcord's article [Irish and American Independence] is interesting and well-written, and is excellent journalism, but it is not, and I hardly expected it would be, particularly good history. His likenesses, dressed up for the occasion, are all familiar and constitute the usual stock in trade for the purpose. I could add some others, even more apt, such as the fact that a conservative Englishman and a radical colonist were never able to find common ground of agreement or to use in argument a language that the other could understand any more than can an Englishman and an Irishman of the present day. But these likenesses are no more than surface similarities, such as are characteristic of all violent movements in history, where coercion is threatened on one side and defiance is breathed on the other. They are in no way sufficient to create that "extraordinary parallel" which you mentioned and which I supposed Mr. Colcord was to make clear in detail. More disappointing still is the latter's failure to answer my question, to ask which was my sole justification for writing at all.

Omitting all discussion of particular grievances, which are capable of being presented in a thousand different forms of subjective interpretation, according to one's predilections and cleverness in disputation, I would ask consideration of one point only. Ireland continues her revolt despite concessions which had they been offered to the American colonies would have brought to a speedy end the efforts of the colonial radicals to force a revolution. As it was, the latter accomplished their purpose with difficulty and only with the aid of British blundering. If a parallel with the colonial situation is to be found then it should not be in Ireland, where race, religion, historical antecedents, and mental habits are all fundamentally different, but in Canada or Australia, colonies of Britain's own people, with no tribal background or Celtic emotionalism, where a parallel does exist and where in the middle of the last century the concession of representative government, the repeal of the corn laws and the navigation acts, and the eventual granting of responsible government brought to an end all desire for independence. Had these things been done for the American colonies before 1776 there would have been no war of the American Revolution, but unhappily in the colonies as in Ireland—and here is another likeness for Mr. Colcord—England's peace offers were not very opportune and generally came too late.

At the time of their controversy with Great Britain, the colonies were in a stage of development out of Crown colonies into something very like self-governing dominions, although they had never shown, as Canada, Australia, and South Africa were to show later, any inclination to combine in a closer union. That would have come eventually. It was Great Britain's failure to recognize this de-facto status of essential independence and her determination to maintain the legal sovereignty of the British Crown and the legal view of colonial subjection and dependence as Crown colonies (and no Britisher conceived of any other relationship as possible at the time) that brought on the revolt. What our colonists wanted was something similar to that which the self-governing dominions have since obtained, though it is probable that at first they were not very sure of what they did want, except perhaps greater freedom from outside interference; they did not seek legal separation from Great Britain until all possible remedies had been denied them.

The fact that concessions which would certainly have stopped revolt in America and since that time have prevented further disintegration of the Empire are not sufficient to satisfy Ireland, who in the face of them still demands entire separation, shows that there is something in the Irish situation that was not present in America before 1776 and has not been present in Canada, Australia, or South Africa. I think it is more than a lack of confidence, upon which the Irish lay so much stress, for something very like a lack of confidence in the British Government (another point for Mr. Colcord) prevailed among the colonial radicals. There was no Ulster or anything like Ulster in the American situation, which is a pretty fundamental point of difference, and the colonies were not at England's back door, which is in itself almost enough to break the back of the parallel. But even these two differences do not explain all. I have spoken of the differences of race, religion, historical antecedents, and Celtic emotionalism, all of which are of tremendous significance and not one of which finds a parallel in America. Mr. Padraic Colum has recently in your pages called attention to an Irish tactic of aggressive defense, differing from the English tactic of acceptance and compromise—a "holding on" tactic revived in the recent movement. There was nothing like this racial tactic in America, for the colonists were Englishmen and employed methods characteristic of their English ancestry. Were Ireland inhabited, as were the British Colonies in America, in the main by colonists of Protestant, English stock, would not a settlement have been reached long ago? Will Mr. Colcord kindly answer this question?

Yale University, March 12 CHARLES M. ANDREWS

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Professor Andrews evidently is under the impression that I wrote my article in reply to his first letter to *The Nation.* This is a misapprehension. I had not seen his letter until it appeared in company with my article, and had in fact written the article a couple of months before. This will explain why I failed to answer his question, and seemed to depart from the tenor of his thought.

Whether the article is good history or not, must forever remain a matter of opinion. I tried not to violate the record of what might be termed static history; I did, however, enter the field of dynamic history, where things largely are as one sees them. Professor Andrews takes his stand on the firm ground of static history; although he indulges freely in speculation as a side line. It is not so much a question of parallelism between the Irish and American Revolutions as between Professor Andrews's point of view and mine.

To attempt in static terms to draw an historical parallel between Ireland today and America in 1776 would be a palpable absurdity. The specific facts and events which led up to the American Revolution unquestionably were not the same as those which led up to the present situation in Ireland. What I tried to show in my article was that in spite of such inevitable differences, both sets of facts and events strangely enough had produced the same reaction in the public temper on either side of the contest, that the psychological condition of the peoples involved was extraordinarily alike in both periods, and that in this sense there was a close historical parallel. The peoples were *generalizing* in the same spirit and about the same principles. This field of popular psychology which I have termed the field of dynamic history, is the one which chiefly interests me, because it seems to be the key itself to history; and the more history I read, the more I realize that it is the field which the main body of historians either neglect or avoid. Perhaps this is why we have so little permanent history and so much prejudiced and inaccurate history which nevertheless appears to be based on fact; so little true history and so much false history. Certainly that body of history which is permanent derives its enduring qualities from a true report of the popular psychology of the period it covers.

Professor Andrews seems to claim that in all periods of revolution the popular psychology is much the same. Is the position tenable? Was the popular psychology of the French Revolution, for instance, at all comparable with that of the American Revolution? It does not appear so to me; and this

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in spite of the fact that both movements, in a sense, sprang from the same intellectual parentage. The reason for this is that economic circumstance is the most important single factor in establishing the trend and temper of a revolutionary manifestation. The French Revolution fundamentally was an internal economic movement. The American Revolution was a political and colonial movement largely induced by economic exploitation on the part of the mother country. In its essential features, the Irish Revolution partakes of the latter rather than of the former.

Coming to the argument, I must protest that Professor Andrews in his first question commits an unpardonable solecism. He says: "Ireland continues her revolt despite concessions which had they been offered to the American colonies would have brought to a speedy end the efforts of *the colonial radicals* to force a revolution." [The italics are mine.] Putting aside the inaccuracy of offering as a statement of fact what inherently must be a matter of opinion, is it not obvious that Professor Andrews is comparing two entirely different phases of revolutionary development? He is applying to an acute revolutionary situation in Ireland a factor derived from the prerevolutionary period of the American case. His very language confesses this solecism. "Ireland continues her revolt"—then he admits that the Irish Revolution is under way. "Would have brought to a speedy end the efforts . . . to force a revolution" —then he is thinking of a time, in the American case, before the revolution had arrived.

Had the British Government in 1777, let us say, after a year of revolutionary development, offered the American colonies concessions similar to those which today are being offered to Ireland, I doubt very strongly if the American Revolution could have been held up. My respect for the courage and integrity of my forefathers, as well as my general sense of the reactions of human nature, leads me to believe that, with the die cast for revolution and a year of war already over, they would not have stopped short of independence. On the other hand, had the British Government in 1915, let us say, or at some time before the revolutionary temper in Ireland had come to a head, sincerely offered and carried out the concessions which it is willing to make today, I think it extremely likely that the revolt could have been averted. But to speak of conditions in prerevolutionary America as applying to revolutionary Ireland is historically improper and wholly unfair.

In fact, does not the point raised here serve only to strengthen the parallel which Professor Andrews is attempting to deny? In both the Irish and American cases, prerevolutionary concessions might have checked the development of the actual revolt. In both cases these concessions were withheld, through misjudgment by government of the popular psychology. In both cases, the revolution followed as the direct result of this policy. Professor Andrews should not forget that the Home Rule Bill which the British Government is now attempting to extend to Ireland when she will not have it was passed in 1914, and has been held in abeyance ever since, for reasons best known to the Ministry. It would be interesting to hear Professor Andrews's explanation of this singular failure on the part of Government to put in practice those concessions which he makes the basis of his argument.

Professor Andrews's final question springs from another common error of the static historian; namely, exaggeration of ethnic and cultural factors in their application to human nature in the mass. The fact is, not that peoples here and there are sharply dissimilar, but that peoples everywhere are remarkably alike. Their differences are largely superficial; their hearts and generalizations meet on common ground. In the study there is a constant temptation to pay too close attention to these superficial differences and to forget the universal agreement in the strong undercurrent of life. Thus it appears that to ambush a body of British soldiers at Concord Bridge and shoot them down from behind the neighboring rocks is an act of Anglo-Saxon calmness and deliberation; these men "employed methods characteristic of their English ancestry." To ambush a body of British soldiers in an Irish lane, however, and serve them the same trick, clearly is an act of "Celtic emotionalism." The effort to explain universal human manifestations on separate ethnic or cultural grounds leads directly to that utter misapprehension of life forces which obsesses the mind of the world today with respect to the great war and its results. The answer, of course, to Professor Andrews's question is that, had Ireland always been inhabited by people of English stock, she would not have been subjected to alien rule, and there would have been no Irish problem. The capital of the British Empire might have been Dublin instead of London.

I would not be so academic as to contend that a strict historical parallel exists between the Irish and American Revolutions; there is no such thing as a strict historical parallel. Contrary to the popular axiom, history never repeats herself. In my article I called it an analogy rather than a parallel. An analogy I still believe it to be; and one sufficiently close to command sympathy for Irish Independence of all those who would have joined the movement for American independence had they been alive in the revolutionary period. Those, of course, who would have been Tories in 1776 will be Tories still.

Searsport, Maine, March 21 LINCOLN COLCORD.

For Suppression

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Allow me to take issue with your editorial in *The Nation* of March 30. Admitting the "sinister policy" of the *Dearborn Independent*, the editorial regards the suppression of that paper as a blow at the freedom of the press. Whenever a paper resorts to malicious slander, circulates deliberate falsehoods, attempts insidious propaganda instilling in the minds of its readers hatred toward thousands of law-abiding, loyal Americans it approaches dangerously near that border line which tends to separate freedom of the press from libel. A periodical such as that should be throttled before it does further damage. The action of St. Louis and other cities upholds the basic American principle guaranteeing freedom of religion, a principle with which Ford seems to be totally unacquainted. So that while *The Nation* admits that as a result of anti-semitic propaganda pogroms in this country are "not unthinkable," energetic steps are being taken by municipal authorities to stem the source of this propaganda. Which is more American, the supression of the *Dearborn Independent*, or its support based on an elastic interpretation of freedom of the press?

Chicago, March 28 ANITA LIBMAN

[Non-suppression does not mean support. But nothing could be more dangerous to American liberties than an "elastic interpretation" of freedom of the press. The greater part of our press contains views that are objectionable to some group or other. The moment the line is drawn even against opinions that are utterly detestable the entire structure of our freedom is imperiled. It has already been gravely compromised by the suppression of the dissenting voices during the war.—EDITOR THE NATION.]

Correction of an Advertisement

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In his recent advertisement in *The Nation* Mr. Upton Sinclair conveys the impression that Prof. James Melvin Lee of New York University was "selected" by the New York *Times* to attack Mr. Sinclair, and that he furnished "clippings and quotations" in advance to that newspaper. You will, I am sure, wish to know that neither statement is correct.

New York, April 4 H. C. HOBART

[From information before us we believe that Mr. Sinclair erred as to Professor Lee.—EDITOR THE NATION.]

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International Relations Section

Is Egypt a Nation? II.

THE first part of the report of the Milner Mission to Egypt, printed in last week's issue of the International Relations Section, covered the work of the Mission in Egypt and its provisional conclusions as to the causes of disorder and unrest, before, during, and after the war, and as to the extent of the Nationalist movement. The following sections continue the discussion of the state of affairs in Egypt and set forth the terms of the Memorandum drawn up by the Mission after its return to England. The concluding sections of the report and the proposals of the Egyptian Delegation will appear in the next issue of the International Relations Section.

The Milner Report Continued

The Nationalist Movement and British Policy

The position is undoubtedly a serious one, and in face of this solid phalanx of opposition it might seem at first sight as if we had no choice but either to abandon our position in Egypt altogether, or to maintain it by sheer force, in the teeth of the general and ever-increasing hostility of the Egyptian people. But a closer study of the problem led us to take a more hopeful view. From many and intimate conversations with representative Egyptians, including some who were commonly regarded as extreme Nationalists, the conviction was borne in upon us, that they were not so intransigent, and certainly not so anti-British, as the frantic diatribes of the press might have led us to suppose. The broad banner of nationalism was seen to cover many shades of opinion, and, above all, most notable differences of temper and of aim. Undoubtedly there are a number of Nationalists whose fundamental hatred of all foreign, and especially all British, control leads them to commit, or at any rate sympathize with, acts of lawlessness and crime. Not only are their aims wholly incompatible with any sort of understanding between British and Egyptians, but they are prepared to pursue them by methods which nothing could justify and which no Government could do otherwise than strive to repress. They are deliberately encouraging a system of terrorism, which is intended to render any cooperation between British and Egyptians impossible in the future.

The untoward events of the last few years in Egypt itself and the restless and revolutionary spirit throughout the whole world, which has had a strong repercussion in that country, have undoubtedly been grist to the mill of this extreme section and have given a more sinister character to the Nationalist movement. No wonder that, under these circumstances, nationalism has appeared to many British people on the spot, and perhaps to even more at home, to be synonymous with violent Anglophobia and to be aiming at the complete subversion of the existing system of government in Egypt.

But we were satisfied, even before leaving Cairo, that it would be a profound mistake to take this sweeping view. It would be wrong to allow the impressions of a period of turbulence, like the preceding twelve months, to blind us to what is reasonable and legitimate in the aspirations of Egyptian nationalism. Such an indiscriminating attitude could only tend to drive moderate men more and more into the camp of the extremists and to convert the present deplorable friction between British and Egyptians, which is not incapable of being remedied, into bitter and enduring hostility. Violence and disorder must, of course, be suppressed, and here let us say that the measures taken to that end during our stay in Egypt were as temperate as they were effective. The necessity of continuing to maintain martial law in Egypt is regrettable, but under Lord Allenby martial law was being administered with the minimum of severity or of disturbance to the normal course of justice and the everyday life of the people. The duty of promptly suppressing violence and disorder must not, however, lead us to confound all those who are in a greater or less degree opposed to the existing system of government with the pronounced revolutionaries, or simple criminals, who were responsible for the outbreak of the spring of 1919 and the sporadic acts of violence which have been perpetrated since. In talking to many men who professed Nationalist opinions—and indeed it was difficult to find anyone who repudiated all sympathy with them—we encountered a very different spirit from that which found expression in such detestable outrages. These men denounced the resort to violence, or open rebellion, as not only criminal, but useless. Great Britain—such was the general view—was more than strong enough to keep Egypt in permanent subjection if she preferred unwilling subjects to friendly and grateful allies. For they all recognized, with more or less warmth and spontaneity, the great benefits which Great Britain had conferred upon Egypt, while most of them also recognized that Egypt still stood in need of British assistance, not only in the work of internal reconstruction, but for her defense against foreign interference and the danger of once more becoming the arena of international rivalry and intrigue. They all, without exception, admitted that Great Britain had a very special interest in Egypt, as the central link in her communications with her Eastern Empire and the Australasian Dominions, and a perfect right to safeguard these communications from any danger of interruption. But was it necessary for the fulfilment of these objects to deprive Egypt of her independence, to try to convert her into an integral part of the British Empire, and to run counter to the ineradicable desire of the Egyptians to take their place as a distinct people among the nations of the world? Would not an orderly and friendly Egypt, in intimate association with Great Britain, serve British purposes as well, or even better, while removing all sense of grievance and all spirit of revolt on the Egyptian side? Moreover, was not such a consummation the only one consistent with the avowed policy of Great Britain, with her reiterated declaration that it was not her intention to appropriate Egypt or to incorporate her in the British Empire, but to make her capable of standing on her own feet? In the sincerity of these declarations they had long believed, but were now ceasing to believe. After nearly forty years of British occupation, they seemed to be not nearer to, but distinctly further from, the goal at which Great Britain had professed to be aiming. With our continued insistence on the Protectorate, which they all regarded as implying the permanent subjection of their country, Great Britain had definitely departed from her original policy and, in fact, broken her word. They had accepted the Protectorate, when it was first declared, as a necessity of the moment. Great Britain, being at war with Turkey, had not unreasonably severed the remaining links between Turkey and Egypt, and something had immediately to be substituted for the former Turkish suzerainty. The Protectorate was thus justified as a temporary expedient, but at the end of the war they had always expected that Great Britain would proceed to regulate her relations with Egypt in a manner more consistent with her declarations, with her real interests, and with her honor. Instead of that they now saw nothing before them but the permanent loss of their nationality, of their existence as a people. They were to become a "British Colony," to be British subjects. Against that they appealed, and would continue to appeal, to the British sense of justice and in the last resort to the sympathy of the whole civilized world.

Future Policy

Such, we believe, is a fair statement of the average opinion of Egyptian Nationalists. The violence, unfairness, and unreason of the more extreme and noisy section have given to the

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whole movement an appearance of intransigence which, in our opinion, is not essential or necessarily enduring. The remarkable organization known as the *Wafd* ("Delegation") which, under the leadership of Zaghlul Pasha, has established, for the time being at least, so complete an ascendancy over the Egyptian public, and claims, not without many credentials, to speak in the name of "the nation," does not consist mainly of extreme men. Its members were drawn largely from the ranks of the old *Hisb el Umma*, which, in contrast to the *Hisb el Watani*, the real revolutionary and anti-British party, stood for gradual and constitutional progress. It is true that in face of an attitude on our part which seemed to them to present a blank negative to all their hopes, Zaghlul and his associates have until quite recently been drifting steadily to the Left. But in our experience, it only needed some effort to understand their point of view and to remove their suspicions of the intentions of Great Britain in order to get many of the Zaghlulists to discuss the situation in a perfectly reasonable spirit. And the same is naturally true of men of even more moderate views, like the ex-Ministers Rushdi, Adli, and Sarwat Pashas, who, while sympathizing with the ideals of nationalism, had never actually joined the *Wafd*. In such discussions, when once we had got away from phrases and formulæ and come to grips with the practical difficulties of the problem, it soon became apparent that there were many shades and varieties of opinion among Egyptians. The one thing common to them all was the desire to preserve their nationality, their distinctive character as a people.

It is evident from what has been said that any effort at reconciliation between British and Egyptians, any policy which seriously attempts to bring the more moderate and friendly elements of Egyptian nationalism once more on to our side, must take account of this deeply rooted feeling. No grant to Egypt of a greater or less measure of "self-government," even if it went the length of what is known as "Dominion Home Rule," would meet the case, because Egyptians do not regard their country as a British Dominion or themselves as British subjects. This wholly differentiates the problem of constitutional development in Egypt from the same problem in countries which have for years indubitably formed part of the British Empire, as, for instance, British India. We talk of such countries gradually attaining the status of nationhood. The Egyptians claim that they already have this status. No settlement of the future of Egypt which does not recognize this claim is ever likely to be accepted by—it can only be imposed on—the Egyptian people.

As against these considerations, we have the patent fact that Egypt, though not actually a part of the British Empire, is of vital importance to our whole imperial system, and that that country under British guidance has attained a new level of civilization, from which it would be disastrous to allow it to relapse. To reconcile the defense of these interests—Egyptian as well as British—with the recognition of the national status of Egypt is no easy matter. And the problem seems, at first sight, to be further complicated, though on a closer study it may turn out to be really simplified, by the exceptionally strong position which the foreign colonies, other than the British, occupy in Egypt. In no other Eastern country are there so many resident Europeans, enjoying such special privileges or filling so many important posts in commerce, in education, in the professions, in society, and even in the government departments. The great towns, especially Alexandria, are to a large extent Europeanized, and in a certain sense Egypt will always remain an international country. No solution of the Egyptian problem can be enduring unless it provides for the security of the great European interests, which are so strongly intrenched in the Nile valley. Thus that problem may well appear as insoluble as it is certainly unique. But then everything in and about Egypt always has been unique. There are no precedents for us to follow in dealing with conditions so abnormal. Any system which really fits these conditions is bound to be novel, and it should not be condemned as unsound merely because it looks paradoxical.

In view of all these difficulties, we gradually came to the conclusion that no settlement could be satisfactory which was simply imposed by Great Britain upon Egypt, but that it would be wiser to seek a solution by means of a bilateral agreement—a treaty—between the two countries. In no other way did it appear possible to release Egypt from the tutelage to which Egyptians so vehemently object, without endangering any of the vital interests which we are bound to safeguard. All necessary safeguards, as it seemed to us, could be provided in the terms of a treaty of Alliance by which Egypt, in return for Great Britain's undertaking to defend her integrity and independence, would agree to be guided by Great Britain in her foreign relations and would at the same time confer upon Great Britain certain definite rights in Egyptian territory. The rights we contemplated were of a twofold character. Firstly, in order to protect her special interest in Egypt—the safety of her imperial communications—Great Britain was to have the right to maintain a military force on Egyptian soil; and secondly, for the protection of all legitimate foreign interests, she was to have a certain measure of control over Egyptian legislation and administration, as far as they affected foreigners. The former privilege was no more than what Egypt could honorably concede to an ally who undertook to defend her against all external dangers, and whose strength and security were therefore of vital importance to Egypt herself. And the latter privilege would involve no greater infringement of Egyptian independence than that to which, by virtue of the Capitulations,* Egypt has always been exposed. Indeed, by substituting a single Power, Great Britain, for the thirteen foreign Powers which have hitherto enjoyed capitulatory rights in Egypt, it would tend to enlarge rather than to curtail that independence. Moreover, it was part of our scheme, as it has always been a feature of British policy in Egypt, to confine the special privileges enjoyed by foreigners under the Capitulations within more reasonable limits, and by so doing to make Egypt much more the mistress in her own house than she is today. But this could only be done if Egypt was prepared to recognize Great Britain as the protector of these foreign privileges when reduced to reasonable proportions.

This latter point requires a word of explanation. The restrictions which the Capitulations impose upon the sovereign rights of Egypt have a good as well as a bad side. In so far as they protect the liberties and property of foreigners by insuring them justice in the courts and immunity from arbitrary action on the part of the local authorities, their operation is beneficent. But, on the other hand, by exempting foreigners

* "Capitulations" is the name given by Europeans to those concessions which secured from the early Sultans of Turkey extra-territorial rights to foreigners residing there, in continuation of similar privileges granted to foreign residents by the Byzantine Empire. They are unilateral and non-terminable, but liable to modification by subsequent Treaties. If, however, these latter Treaties are terminable, the Capitulations revive on the expiration of such Treaties. Primarily, they were intended to make it possible for Christians to trade and reside in the territories of the Ottoman Empire by safeguarding them against any forms of injustice or ill-usage, to which, as foreigners of a different religion, they might otherwise have been subjected. The Capitulations granted to Great Britain by the Porte date back to a very early period, but after various alterations now bear the date of 1675, and were confirmed in the Treaty of Peace concluded at the Dardanelles in 1809. Capitulations were granted to France in 1581, 1604, and 1673, and were renewed in 1740. The Dutch were granted Capitulations in 1612; these were renewed in 1680 and still continue in force. Nearly all the other great Powers obtained similar concessions from the Porte at one time or another in the course of the last 400 years.

It is in virtue of these unilateral Treaties with the Porte that Capitulations exist in Egypt. The Powers enjoying them were, before the war, fifteen in number, viz., Great Britain, United States of America, France, Italy, Spain, Holland, Belgium, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Greece, Portugal, Russia, Germany, and Austria-Hungary. The privileges of the two latter were terminated in the recent Treaties of Versailles and St. Germain. In Egypt the rights conferred on foreigners by the Capitulations, apart from certain commercial concessions, included:—immunity from personal taxation without the assent of their Governments; inviolability of domicile and protection from arbitrary arrest; and exemption from the jurisdiction of the local Courts. Since the creation of the Mixed Tribunals in 1876, the practical effects of the last-mentioned privilege are that no legislation applicable to foreigners can be enforced without the consent of the capitulatory Powers, and that civil jurisdiction in cases between Europeans and natives or between Europeans of different nationality is exercised by the Mixed Courts, while criminal jurisdiction over Europeans and jurisdiction in civil cases between Europeans of the same nationality is exercised by the Consular Courts applying the laws of their own countries. The only internal taxes to which foreigners are at present liable are the house and land tax.

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from taxation and from the necessity of conforming to local laws and regulations of an equitable kind, they constitute a great and unjustifiable hindrance to the progress of the country. For this reason it is, and always has been, the policy of Great Britain to get rid of the Capitulations and to substitute for them a system which, while protecting all legitimate foreign interests, would put an end to the indefensible privileges which foreigners now enjoy. Negotiations to secure that object have for some time been going on between Great Britain and the other Powers who have capitulatory rights in Egypt. But the Powers in question cannot be expected to give up these rights unless they are assured that their nationals can rely on obtaining justice and fair treatment in the future. In order to be able to give them that assurance, Great Britain must be put into a position enabling her to implement it. Thus it is in Egypt's own interest to empower Great Britain to act as the protector of such of the privileges now enjoyed by foreigners in Egypt as it is just and reasonable to maintain. It is in this sense that the recognition in the recent peace treaties of Great Britain's special position in Egypt should be interpreted.

These, in broad outline and reserving details for later explanation, are the main features of the settlement by which we had come to think that relations between Great Britain and Egypt might in future be regulated. And when we began to discuss them with those Egyptians, all of more or less advanced Nationalist opinions, with whom we were in friendly contact, it was encouraging to find that our suggestions met with a large measure of sympathy. No doubt the idea of a treaty, of a settlement arrived at by agreement as between equals, not by dictation from above, appealed strongly to their sense of being a distinct people, to their national self-respect. For evidently that idea involved the recognition, in principle, of the independence of Egypt and was inconsistent with the theory of her being a British possession. And when they came to consider the conditions which in our proposal were attached to this recognition, they were ready to admit that, however unacceptable to extreme Nationalists, these conditions were nevertheless such as they could themselves justify to their countrymen, as being compatible with their status as a nation. For that status could only be maintained in fact by the support of Great Britain and Great Britain was entitled to a reasonable *quid pro quo* for this indispensable support. That she should claim to control the foreign policy of Egypt and should have the right to maintain, for her own imperial purposes, a force on Egyptian soil, was no more than such a *quid pro quo*. As regards her domestic affairs, Egypt would be completely self-governing except in respect of the privileges of foreigners. And the restrictions upon the full exercise of Egyptian sovereignty which the maintenance of some of these privileges involved were no greater but less, and far less irksome, than the restrictions which had always existed. In view of these practical considerations, it could not be denied that the proposed arrangement was conceived in the interests, not only of Great Britain, but of Egypt, and could be defended as a fair and reasonable basis for future cooperation.

The point of view of the Egyptians of whom we are speaking can, of course, only be stated in general terms. There was much discussion between us, and much difference of opinion among the Egyptians themselves, about details. Interminable and wearisome argumentation about the meaning of words—"protectorate," "sovereignty," "independence," and "complete independence"—occupied much time. But it did not prevent a great deal of practical consideration of the actual provisions of the contemplated treaty or indicate that agreement about them was in any way impossible. On the whole the conversations which we had while in Egypt left on our minds the impression that we had made great progress towards a good understanding, and especially that we had got into a much better atmosphere. The bitterness and suspicion, with which all Egyptian Nationalists had recently come to regard Great Britain were beginning to disappear, and there was a good prospect of gaining the support of the more moderate section for a policy of reconciliation.

But there was a distinct limit to anything which we could achieve, while still in Egypt, in the shape of definite results. It was not within our competence to arrange a settlement of the Egyptian problem. We could only advise as to the best course to be followed to that end. And the Egyptians with whom we conversed, one and all, were emphatic in stating that they were only expressing their individual opinions, and that they could not claim to speak for the great body of their countrymen. Indeed, almost all of them went further, and referred us to Zaghlul Pasha and his Delegation as being the only men authorized by general acclamation to represent the Egyptian people. We ourselves, of course, could not admit that Zaghlul Pasha and his associates possessed the full measure of authority thus claimed for them, but neither could we blind ourselves to the fact that they were for the time being the most powerful leaders of Egyptian opinion, and that no scheme to which they were definitely hostile stood any chance of favorable consideration, much less of general acceptance. But it was essential, from our point of view, as we had explained to the Egyptians from the first, that the treaty which we contemplated, if it was to have any real value, must be concluded in such a manner as to make it not only technically but morally binding upon Egypt. As a matter of form, it would be a treaty between the British and Egyptian Governments. But an agreement merely between Governments would not be sufficient. It might always be said afterwards that the Egyptian Government was not a free agent, but was bound to accept any terms that Great Britain chose to impose, and that in any case it was an autocratic Government, not really representing the Egyptian people. For these reasons it had always been a fundamental point in our plan that the treaty should not be allowed to come into force unless it had been approved by a genuinely representative Egyptian assembly. This might be the existing legislative assembly, the sittings of which have been suspended since the outbreak of war, or preferably it might be a new body elected *ad hoc*. It was rather for the Egyptians than for us to say what kind of assembly would be in the truest sense representative. But it must in any case be a popularly elected body, deliberating with perfect freedom and taking its decision without official or other pressure of any kind.

In any such assembly, we were assured on all hands, Zaghlul Pasha and his associates would command a substantial, if not an overwhelming, majority. In these circumstances it appeared to us absurd to let any question of etiquette stand in the way of our engaging in discussion with him, if he was willing to confer with us. Had we not from the outset invited representative Egyptians to lay their views before us, without prejudice on either side? And as a matter of fact it seemed likely at one time that Zaghlul Pasha, who was still in Paris, would return to Egypt in order to meet the Mission. Great efforts to induce him to do so were made by the Egyptians who had been conferring with us, and some of whom were among his strongest adherents. Adli Pasha also, who, though himself occupying an independent position was in friendly relations with Zaghlul and was most anxious to effect a meeting between him and us, lent his powerful influence to second these efforts. But Zaghlul Pasha did not as yet see his way to respond to these appeals and though numerous communications passed between him and his friends in Egypt during the latter portion of our stay he remained for the time being in Paris.

The position, therefore, at the time when we left Egypt was as follows: We had obtained, from British and Egyptian sources, a vast amount of information about existing conditions; we had had ample opportunities of making ourselves acquainted with the state of public feeling; and we had formed our own opinion as to the policy best calculated to reconcile British and Egyptian interests. But we were not yet in a position to say whether the scheme which we had in our minds, even if it commended itself to British opinion, was likely to command sufficient support in

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Egypt to make it worth while to attempt a settlement on our lines. All we could do, therefore, was to report on the situation as we had found it, to indicate the conclusions to which our inquiries had led us, and to express the hope that the better understanding between British and Egyptians, of which we saw some promising signs, would ultimately make it possible to determine the future status of Egypt by mutual agreement.

III. Proceedings of the Mission After Leaving Egypt

Discussions with Egyptian Delegates in London

We left Egypt at the end of the first week of March, traveling by different routes, and met again in London about the middle of April, with the view of drawing up our report. But soon after we had begun to do so, a new and not wholly unexpected development of the situation caused us to interrupt our work in the hope of being able to obtain fuller information with regard to the capital point on which, when leaving Egypt, we had still remained in doubt. That point, as already explained, was the attitude likely to be adopted by the chief exponents of nationalist opinion toward the policy which we were ourselves disposed to advise the British Government to adopt. A prospect, however, now presented itself of clearing up this point of doubt by the Mission coming into direct contact with Zaghlul Pasha.

At the end of April Adli Pasha, who commands the universal respect of his countrymen and whose advice had been of the greatest value to us in Egypt, paid a visit to Paris, and at once put himself into communication with Zaghlul Pasha with the object of bringing about a meeting between him and the Mission. Early in May we became aware that, largely owing to Adli Pasha's good offices, Zaghlul Pasha and the Delegation were now disposed to abandon their former attitude and enter into direct relations with the Mission. Accordingly, during the third week in May, Mr. (now Sir Cecil) Hurst, who happened to be in Paris, conveyed to them an invitation to meet the Mission in London. Zaghlul Pasha, having satisfied himself that by so doing he would not compromise his position as the advocate of Egyptian independence, arrived in London on June 7. He was accompanied by seven members of the Delegation, who were subsequently joined by one or two of their colleagues.

Then followed a series of conversations which, with frequent interruptions due to the fact that several of the members of the Mission were now busily engaged in other work, lasted till the middle of August. These prolonged discussions took a variety of forms. There were a number of meetings at which the Mission, as a body, met Zaghlul Pasha and his companions, Adli Pasha being also present. From time to time, points which it was found difficult to discuss in so large a body were referred to committees consisting of a few members of either party, and these to some extent cleared the ground. Moreover, there was, in the interval between formal meetings, a great deal of useful private discussion between individual members of the Mission and one or more of the Egyptians. It would serve no useful purpose to try and give an account of the many changing phases of this lengthy debate, but it is necessary to indicate its general character.

In the first place, we record with pleasure that very friendly relations were maintained from first to last, and that even when differences of opinion were sharpest the controversy was always conducted in an amicable spirit. There was never any doubt in our minds that our visitors were as sincerely anxious as we were ourselves to find a way out of the difficulties of the situation. But they were to some extent hampered—and this is especially true of Zaghlul Pasha himself—by the uncompromising line which they had taken in the recent past, when they believed that there was an unbridgeable gulf between Egyptian aspirations and the policy of Great Britain. They had no doubt come to recognize by this time that they had misunderstood that policy, but it was not easy for them to readjust their position to suit their altered view of British intentions. Over and over again they declared that it was impossible for them to accept some proposal or other made by us, the fairness of which they did not directly dispute, because it was inconsistent with the "mandate" which they had received from the Egyptian people. It was useless to point out to them that the alleged "mandate" was really their own program which the Egyptian public had simply accepted from them, and that there was nothing to prevent their modifying a policy of their own creation. The reply always was, that they had no authority to depart from claims which, even if originally put forward by themselves, had been enthusiastically indorsed by a great majority of their countrymen. The war cries of the past eighteen months were, indeed, a perpetual stumbling-block, and while in the course of our discussions we were often very near agreement on points of substance, it was always difficult to clothe such agreement in words which did not conflict with formulae to which the Egyptians felt themselves committed.

The idea of a treaty between Great Britain and Egypt was readily accepted. That was our starting-point, and without it we should have made little progress. But when it came to discussing those terms of the treaty which embodied the few but essential safeguards for British and foreign interests, the Egyptians were always extremely apprehensive of agreeing to something which might conflict with their ideal of independence. As a matter of fact, our proposals did not conflict with that ideal—reasonably interpreted—as the Egyptians themselves, or at any rate some of them, were ready to admit. But there was always the fear in their minds that their countrymen would not take the same view, and that they would be regarded in Egypt as having betrayed the national cause.

In spite of these difficulties one obstacle after another was gradually surmounted, and we finally succeeded in drafting the outlines of a settlement with which both parties were more or less satisfied. This result was only achieved by considerable concessions on the part of the Mission. On one point in particular, to which we shall presently refer at greater length, we acquiesced in a claim on the part of the Egyptians which we were at first disposed to resist, because we were assured that the admission of that claim would do more than anything else to gratify popular sentiment in Egypt. This concession seemed to us not too high a price to pay if it secured the cordial acceptance of the scheme as a whole by the Egyptian people. Moreover, we were bound to recognize that the delegates also were ready to give up a good deal of what they had originally demanded, in their anxiety to come to a good understanding with the Mission.

The compromise thus reached was one which commended itself to us on its merits subject to one essential condition. That condition was that Zaghlul and his associates would undertake to use all their influence to obtain its acceptance by the people of Egypt, and ultimately to get a treaty giving effect to it approved by an Egyptian popular assembly. This, as it seemed to us, was no more than we had a right to ask of them. We could not, indeed, expect them to promise that their efforts would be successful, any more than we could ourselves promise that our advice would be approved by the British Government and the British people. What we did demand was that they should commit themselves to supporting wholeheartedly the result of our joint efforts. For unless they did this, it was too much to hope that the settlement would be rightly understood, much less cordially welcomed, in Egypt. Yet it would be idle for us, if we could not cherish that hope, to recommend it ourselves as a solution of the Egyptian problem. The British people, we believed, would be quite willing to accord very generous terms to Egypt, but only if they were convinced that those terms would be gratefully accepted and would lead to permanently improved relations and hearty cooperation between them and the Egyptians in the future.

Zaghlul Pasha and his friends were, however, not yet prepared to commit themselves to this extent. They were evidently still nervous of being repudiated by a considerable number of

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their followers in Egypt. They accordingly kept on suggesting further modifications of the terms so far agreed to, mainly on points of form, with the view of making them more acceptable to Egyptian opinion. But we had now gone as far as we deemed wise in the way of concession. For we, too, as we did not fail to point out, had to reckon with public opinion, and it was no use to agree to anything, with a view of pleasing the Egyptians, which would lead to the rejection of the whole scheme in Great Britain. We seemed, therefore, after all, to have reached an impasse.

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At this stage, however, it was suggested on the Egyptian side that the discussion should be temporarily suspended in order that some members of the Delegation might have time to visit Egypt, to explain to the public of that country the nature of the settlement which the Mission was disposed to recommend and the great advantages which Egypt would derive from it. If, as they hoped, they met with a favorable reception, this would constitute a "mandate" from the people which would justify the Delegation, on the return of the emissaries, in pledging itself to give our proposals an unconditional support. Zaghlul Pasha himself was not disposed to undertake the journey, but he approved of the idea, and three or four of his companions were willing to go.

This proposal had obvious advantages from the Egyptian point of view. For it would enable the emissaries to advocate the acceptance of certain terms without being absolutely committed to them, and thus running the risk of finding themselves isolated from the bulk of their party in case those terms met with an unfavorable reception. But it had advantages for us also, inasmuch as the general public discussion, which was bound to ensue, would enable us to gauge Egyptian opinion more completely than had yet been possible, and to judge of the comparative strength of moderate and extreme Nationalists. A memorandum was accordingly drawn up—the last of a series of efforts to reduce the result of our discussions to a definite shape—which laid down in general terms the main features of the settlement, which, on the condition already specified, the Mission would be disposed to recommend. The object of the memorandum was to enable the emissaries to elicit an expression of Egyptian public opinion. This document, which presently came to be known as the "Milner-Zaghlul Agreement," but which, on the face of it, was not an agreement but merely an outline of the bases on which an agreement might subsequently be framed, was handed by Lord Milner to Adli Pasha, who, as an intermediary between the two parties, had had a large share in all our negotiations, to be communicated by him to Zaghlul Pasha and his friends. It was understood that they might make free use of it in public discussion in Egypt. It was dated August 18 and was in the following terms:

"The accompanying memorandum is the result of conversations held in London in June to August, 1920, between Lord Milner and the members of the Special Mission to Egypt, and Zaghlul Pasha and the members of the Egyptian Delegation, in which conversations Adli Pasha also took part. It outlines a policy for the settlement of the Egyptian question in the best interests both of Great Britain and Egypt.

"The members of the Mission are prepared to recommend the British Government to adopt the policy indicated in the memorandum, if they are satisfied that Zaghlul Pasha and the Delegation are likewise prepared to advocate it, and will use all their influence to obtain the assent of an Egyptian National Assembly to the conclusion of such a treaty as is contemplated in Articles 3 and 4.

"It is clear that unless both parties are cordially united in supporting it, the policy here suggested cannot be pursued with success. (Signed) MILNER

"Memorandum

"1. In order to establish the independence of Egypt on a secure and lasting basis, it is necessary that the relations between Great Britain and Egypt should be precisely defined, and the privileges and immunities now enjoyed in Egypt by the capitulatory Powers should be modified and rendered less injurious to the interests of the country.

"2. These ends cannot be achieved without further negotiations between accredited representatives of the British and Egyptian Governments respectively in the one case, and between the British Government and the governments of the capitulatory Powers in the other case. Such negotiations will be directed to arriving at definite agreements on the following lines:

"3. (a) As between Egypt and Great Britain a treaty will be entered into, under which Great Britain will recognize the independence of Egypt as a constitutional monarchy with representative institutions, and Egypt will confer upon Great Britain such rights as are necessary to safeguard her special interests and to enable her to furnish the guaranties which must be given to foreign Powers to secure the relinquishment of their capitulatory rights.

"(b) By the same treaty, an alliance will be concluded between Great Britain and Egypt, by which Great Britain will undertake to support Egypt in defending the integrity of her territory, and Egypt will undertake, in case of war, even when the integrity of Egypt is not affected, to render to Great Britain all the assistance in her power, within her own borders, including the use of her harbors, aerodromes, and means of communication for military purposes.

"4. This treaty will embody stipulations to the following effect:

"(a) Egypt will enjoy the right to representation in foreign countries. In the absence of any duly accredited Egyptian representative, the Egyptian Government will confide its interests to the care of the British representative. Egypt will undertake not to adopt in foreign countries an attitude which is inconsistent with the alliance or will create difficulties for Great Britain, and will also undertake not to enter into any agreement with a foreign Power which is prejudicial to British interests.

"(b) Egypt will confer on Great Britain the right to maintain a military force on Egyptian soil for the protection of her Imperial communications. The treaty will fix the place where the force shall be quartered and will regulate any subsidiary matters which require to be arranged. The presence of this force shall not constitute in any manner a military occupation of the country, or prejudice the rights of the Government of Egypt.

"(c) Egypt will appoint, in concurrence with His Majesty's Government, a financial adviser, to whom shall be intrusted in due course the powers at present exercised by the Commissioners of the Debt, and who will be at the disposal of the Egyptian Government for all other matters on which they may desire to consult him.

"(d) Egypt will appoint, in concurrence with His Majesty's Government, an official in the Ministry of Justice, who shall enjoy the right of access to the Minister. He shall be kept fully informed on all matters connected with the administration of the law as affecting foreigners, and will also be at the disposal of the Egyptian Government for consultation on any matter connected with the efficient maintenance of law and order.

"(e) In view of the contemplated transfer to His Majesty's Government of the rights hitherto exercised under the regime of the Capitulations by the various foreign governments, Egypt recognizes the right of Great Britain to intervene, through her representative in Egypt, to prevent the application to foreigners of any Egyptian law now requiring foreign consent, and Great Britain on her side undertakes not to exercise this right except in the case of laws operating inequitably against foreigners.

"Alternative:

"In view of the contemplated transfer to His Majesty's Government of the rights hitherto exercised under the regime of the Capitulations by the various foreign governments, Egypt recognizes the right of Great Britain to intervene, through her repre-

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sentative in Egypt, to prevent the application to foreigners of any Egyptian law now requiring foreign consent, and Great Britain on her side undertakes not to exercise this right except in the case of laws inequitably discriminating against foreigners in the matter of taxation, or inconsistent with the principles of legislation common to all the capitulatory Powers.

"(f) On account of the special relations between Great Britain and Egypt created by the alliance, the British representative will be accorded an exceptional position in Egypt and will be entitled to precedence over all other representatives.

"(g) The engagements of British and other foreign officers and administrative officials who entered into the service of the Egyptian Government before the coming into force of the treaty may be terminated, at the instance of either the officials themselves or the Egyptian Government, at any time within two years after the coming into force of the treaty. The pension or compensation to be accorded to officials retiring under this provision, in addition to that provided by the existing law, shall be determined by the treaty. In cases where no advantage is taken of this arrangement existing terms of service will remain unaffected.

"5. This treaty will be submitted to the approval of a constituent assembly, but it will not come into force until after the agreements with foreign Powers for the closing of their Consular Courts and the decrees for the reorganization of the Mixed Tribunals have come into operation.

"6. This constituent assembly will also be charged with the duty of framing a new organic statute, in accordance with the provisions of which the Government of Egypt will in future be conducted. This statute will embody provisions for the Ministers being responsible to the Legislature. It will also provide for religious toleration for all persons and for the due protection of the rights of foreigners.

"7. The necessary modifications in the regime of the Capitulations will be secured by agreements to be concluded by Great Britain with the various capitulatory Powers. These agreements will provide for the closing of the foreign Consular Courts, so as to render possible the reorganization and extension of the jurisdiction of the Mixed Tribunals and the application to all foreigners in Egypt of the legislation (including legislation imposing taxation) enacted by the Egyptian Legislature.

"8. These agreements will provide for the transfer to His Majesty's Government of the rights previously exercised under the regime of the Capitulations by the various foreign governments. They will also contain stipulations to the following effect:

"(a) No attempt will be made to discriminate against the nationals of a Power which agrees to close its Consular Courts, and such nationals shall enjoy in Egypt the same treatment as British subjects.

"(b) The Egyptian Nationality Law will be founded on the *jus sanguinis*, so that the children born in Egypt of a foreigner will enjoy the nationality of their father, and will not be claimed as Egyptian subjects.

"(c) Consular officers of the foreign Powers shall be accorded by Egypt the same status as foreign consuls enjoy in England.

"(d) Existing treaties and conventions to which Egypt is a party on matters of commerce and navigation, including postal and telegraphic conventions, will remain in force. Pending the conclusion of special agreements to which she is a party, Egypt will apply the treaties in force between Great Britain and the foreign Power concerned on questions affected by the closing of the Consular Courts, such as extradition treaties, treaties for the surrender of seamen deserters, etc., as also treaties of a political nature, whether multilateral or bilateral, e.g., arbitration conventions and the various conventions relating to the conduct of hostilities.

"(e) The liberty to maintain schools and to teach the language of the foreign country concerned will be guaranteed, provided that such schools are subject in all respects to the laws applicable generally to European schools in Egypt.

"(f) The liberty to maintain or organize religious and charitable foundations, such as hospitals, etc., will also be guaranteed.

"The treaties will also provide for the necessary changes in the Commission of the Debt and the elimination of the international element in the Alexandria Board of Health.

"9. The legislation rendered necessary by the aforesaid agreements between Great Britain and the foreign Powers will be effected by decrees to be issued by the Egyptian Government.

"A decree shall be enacted at the same time validating all measures, legislative, administrative or judicial, taken under Martial Law.

"10. The decrees for the reorganization of the Mixed Tribunals will provide for conferring upon these tribunals all jurisdiction hitherto exercised by the foreign Consular Courts, while leaving the jurisdiction of the Native Courts untouched.

"11. After the coming into force of the treaty referred to in Article 3, Great Britain will communicate its terms to foreign Powers and will support an application by Egypt for admission as a member of the League of Nations.

"August 18, 1920."

The Policy of the Memorandum

1. Representation of Egypt in Foreign Countries

The policy of the above document in its general character is in accordance with the conclusions at which, for the reasons already given, we had arrived before leaving Egypt. But, as a result of our discussions with Zaghlul Pasha and his associates, we were now prepared to go somewhat further. The most important point on which we were led by their arguments to modify our earlier view is one to which the memorandum gives especial prominence, viz., the right of Egypt to appoint her own representatives in foreign countries. It has always been, and is, from our point of view, a fundamental principle that the foreign relations of Egypt should be under the general direction of Great Britain. All reasonable Egyptians, however strongly Nationalist, recognize the immense value of the security which an alliance with Great Britain would afford them. But it is obviously impossible to expect that Great Britain should shoulder the responsibility of defending the integrity and independence of Egypt against all possible dangers, if that country were free to pursue a policy of her own in foreign affairs inconsistent with or prejudicial to the policy of Great Britain. This axiom none of the Egyptians with whom we were dealing ever attempted to dispute. They were quite prepared—in a treaty of alliance—to give whatever pledges might be necessary to exclude the possibility of any action on the part of Egypt which could cause embarrassment to her great ally. There was, indeed, no difference of opinion on this point in the course of our discussions, and the words of the memorandum dealing with it appear to us to make the complete understanding which existed with regard to the subject sufficiently clear. For in this, as in other respects, it must always be borne in mind that in drawing up the memorandum we were not attempting to draft a treaty but simply to express in ordinary language the ideas which a treaty, to be subsequently negotiated, would express with much more detail and in terms of greater precision.

The real issue here was not whether Egypt should be free to follow a foreign policy independent of Great Britain—the impossibility of our assenting to this was not disputed—but whether this principle necessarily involved the conduct of all her foreign relations remaining in British hands.

This was a question upon which we had already, before discussing it with the Egyptians at all, come to a very definite conclusion. In our opinion British control should be limited to Egypt's political relations. Egyptian commercial or other interests of a non-political character in foreign countries had better be left in Egyptian hands. These interests are numerous and growing. The development of commerce and communications, the rapidly increasing number of Egyptians who now travel or reside abroad, especially in Western Europe, and the multifarious connections which they form there constitute a

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need for a certain amount of official protection. If the duty of looking after all Egyptian private interests abroad is to continue to fall upon British diplomatic and consular agents, it will become an excessive burden. And the inevitable failure to discharge that duty to the satisfaction of the Egyptians will be a constant source of grievance. For these reasons it seemed to us from the first to be eminently desirable that Egypt should appoint representatives of her own in foreign countries.

But what we originally contemplated was that these Egyptian representatives should have only consular and not diplomatic status. It was on this point that during our discussions in London we came, not without hesitation, to adopt a different view. The Egyptians were all absolutely unanimous in maintaining that the denial of diplomatic status to the representatives of Egypt vitiated the idea of an alliance and would make the settlement we were contemplating entirely unacceptable to their countrymen. And in this assertion we believed them to be justified. For, even while in Egypt, we had realized that all Egyptians, including the Sultan and his Ministers, however much they were divided on other questions, were united in their desire for the diplomatic representation of their country abroad. It was a sore point with all of them that, when declaring the Protectorate, we had dispensed with an Egyptian Minister for Foreign Affairs and placed the Egyptian Foreign Office, with which it was found impossible to dispense, under the High Commissioner. The hope was universal that, when the time came to put the relations of Great Britain and Egypt on a permanent footing, we should allow the Ministry for Foreign Affairs once more to have an Egyptian chief and foreign representatives, as of old, to be directly accredited to the ruler of Egypt. And on the same principle it was hoped that, now that Turkish suzerainty had disappeared, Egyptian representatives in those foreign countries to which it might be necessary to send them would enjoy a similar status to that of foreign representatives in Egypt. In this matter, therefore, we could have no doubt that the Egyptian delegates were speaking for all their countrymen. And indeed they were most emphatic in declaring that, unless we could meet them on this point, there was no prospect of settling the future relations between Great Britain and Egypt by the method of agreement. On the other hand this recognition of the status of Egypt would, as they affirmed, be so great a satisfaction to national pride that it would make the acceptance of all our other conditions easy. And what, they asked, were we afraid of? We recognized that Egypt had many interests of her own in foreign countries, which could best be looked after by Egyptians. There was no advantage to Great Britain in withholding from the men intrusted with the care of those interests the dignity of diplomatic status. For they could not take any action injurious to British interests or conflicting with British policy, without breaking the treaty, which, as had already been agreed between us, was to be so drafted as to preclude the possibility of such action. Moreover, the number of Egypt's diplomatic representatives abroad would be very limited. Egypt did not desire, and could not afford, to have such representatives in more than a few countries. The fact that everywhere else Egyptian interests would be intrusted to the care of Great Britain marked the specially intimate character of the relations between the two countries.

We could not but feel that these were weighty considerations. At the same time it was evident, as we strongly insisted, that the presence of Egyptian diplomatists, even in a few European capitals, and of foreign diplomatists in Cairo, would afford opportunities for intrigue, which might lead to much trouble. The very fact that these diplomatists would, in the political sphere, have really nothing to do might tempt them to justify their existence by transgressing their proper functions. But the delegates would not admit that there was any real danger of this happening. Their view was that, satisfied with the position acquired by Egypt under the treaty, the Egyptians would be the last to favor intrigues which might give other foreign nations an opportunity of interfering in their country by first making mischief between them and Great Britain. The greatest safeguard which we could have against such machinations was the fact that the Egyptians themselves would be whole-heartedly in favor of an alliance which fully recognized their national status and dignity.

Such were the arguments which led us to reconsider our position on the question of diplomatic status. In so doing we were well aware, and we frankly told the delegates, that this was a concession which might alarm public opinion in this country and imperil the acceptance of the agreement as a whole by the British people. And, judging from the unfavorable comments which this proposal has already excited in many quarters, it is evident that we were not mistaken in anticipating that it would meet with serious opposition. Nevertheless, we remain of opinion that the balance of argument is decisively in its favor. So long as bitterness and friction continue to exist between Great Britain and Egypt, we shall always be exposed to the hostility of Egyptians in foreign countries. Associations for the purpose of anti-British propaganda have been actively at work for a number of years in Switzerland, France, Germany, and Italy. There is no remedy for this, except in restoring friendly relations and we rely on the whole policy here proposed to have this effect. If that result is achieved there will, in our opinion, be positive advantages in giving diplomatic status to Egyptian representatives abroad. For if, as is only to be expected, a certain number of irreconcilables are still left to carry on the campaign against Great Britain, the official representatives of Egypt will be bound to try to restrain them. No Egyptian Minister could do otherwise than discountenance activities on the part of his own countrymen, directed against Egypt's ally, without failing in his duty and rendering himself liable to be recalled.

2. The Defense of Imperial Communications

The supreme importance which the delegates attached to the question of national status was once more strongly in evidence when we came to deal with Great Britain's strategic interest in Egypt—the protection of her Imperial communications. To Great Britain—as an ally—they thought that Egypt could, without indignity, accord a base in Egyptian territory, "a strong place of arms," a *point d'appui* in the chain of her Imperial defenses, linking East and West. They were not averse from the idea that Great Britain, in case of war, should have the command of Egyptian resources, and especially of all means of communication, railways, aerodromes, etc., for the conduct of military operations. Such a stipulation was even welcome as emphasizing the "bilateral" character of the agreement between the two countries, inasmuch as Egypt would be giving something in exchange for what she got. As by a treaty of alliance Great Britain would be undertaking to defend Egypt, it was only fair that Egypt should do something to assist the British Empire if Great Britain was engaged in a war, even a war in which Egypt was not directly interested.

A more difficult point was the maintenance of a British military force in Egypt in time of peace. But here again it was not so much the numbers of the force in question which interested the Egyptians as its character. As long as it was not there as an "Army of Occupation," as a force intended to "keep order" in Egypt, which was merely another way of saying to keep Egypt in subjection, but was maintained for an external object, the defense of the British Empire, the presence of a British force in Egypt was justifiable from their point of view. The question of the strength of that force was never raised in the course of the discussion. It was recognized that this depended on external conditions and, apart from what would be necessary if Egypt was herself in danger, might vary with the varying exigencies of Imperial defense. The great point was that it should not be regarded in any sense as a garrison of Egypt. The maintenance of internal order was a matter for the Egyptians themselves.

In order to emphasize this aspect of the case the delegates urged very strongly that the force in question should be sta-

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tioned on the bank of the Suez Canal and preferably on its eastern side. But to this it was quite impossible for us to agree. For, in the first place, the presence of British troops in the neutral "canal zone" would be calculated to raise trouble with other Powers interested in that international waterway. The neutrality of the canal is guaranteed by international agreements and the permanent occupation of the canal zone by troops of any single Power might be challenged as a breach of that neutrality. Moreover, Great Britain's strategic interest in Egypt is not limited to securing a free passage through the Suez Canal. "The defense of her Imperial communications" involves much more than that. For Egypt is becoming more and more a "nodal point" in the complex of those communications by land and air as well as by sea. In face of these considerations the idea of fixing Kantara, or some other spot in the canal zone, as the site of a cantonment had to be abandoned and, the principle of the maintenance of a British military force in Egypt having been admitted, the question where that force should be stationed was left open—to be settled, with other details, in the official negotiations for the conclusion of the contemplated treaty.

The British Coal Crisis

THE British bill providing that government control of the coal industry should cease on March 31, 1921, was the immediate cause of the disputes leading up to the present strike. The coal industry has suffered severely owing to a decrease in exports during the past months and the Government consequently decided to terminate its control in order to avoid the burden of subsidizing the industry. Shortly after the publication of the "decontrol" bill, the mine owners announced new wage schedules which after much discussion and many counter proposals were rejected by the men. The summary of the "decontrol" bill, as published in the London *Morning Post* for March 5, read as follows, with the full text of the operative clause:

The bill provides that there shall be two pooling periods for that Act [the Coal Mines (Emergency) Act of 1920] which received the Royal Assent on March 31 last—the first from then up to the end of last year and the second from January 1 of this year onwards, that is, to the 31st inst. Under the original Act, after the standard profit had been paid one-tenth of the excess was paid to the undertakings. That provision is to be abrogated. The original Act also provided that if the aggregated profits were less than nine-tenths of the standard, the sum should be made up to the standard. For the second pooling period, coal levy and coal award are to be calculated with reference to "nine-tenths of the standard" instead of with reference to "the standard," which means that if there is any loss it will only be made good up to nine-tenths of the standard.

The Operative Clause

I.

1. The Coal Mines (Emergency) Act, 1920, as amended by any subsequent enactment, shall, so far as it is limited in duration, continue in force until the thirty-first day of March, nineteen hundred and twenty-one, and no longer, and the expression "the period of the operation of this Act" wherever it occurs in the said Act shall be construed accordingly.

2. For the purpose of the provisions of the said Act relating to the pooling of profits, the period of the operation of the Act shall be divided into two periods, the one ending on the thirty-first day of December, nineteen hundred and twenty, and the other commencing on the first day of January, nineteen hundred and twenty-one, and the said provisions shall, in relation to each pooling period, have effect as if for references therein to the period of the operation of the Act there were substituted references to the pooling period in question.

3. If, in either of the said pooling periods, the amount of the aggregate profits of all the undertakings, after such deduction or addition as is mentioned in subsection 2, of section I of the said Act exceeds the aggregate of the total standards of all the undertakings, no part of the profits in excess of such aggregate shall be distributable amongst the several undertakings; and, accordingly, proviso (1) of subsection 1 of section I of the said Act shall have effect as if the words "plus one-tenth part of such excess" were omitted therefrom.

4. In relation to the second pooling period, coal levy and coal award shall be calculated with reference to nine-tenths of the standard instead of with reference to the standard, as if in paragraph (a) of subsection 1 of section II of the said Act for the words "the standard" wherever they occur in that paragraph there were substituted the words "nine-tenths of the standard."

5. Paragraphs 2, 3, and 5 of the First Schedule to the Coal Mines (Emergency) Act, 1920, and as from the first day of April, nineteen hundred and twenty-one, section three of the Mining Industry Act, 1920, shall be repealed.

The mine owners' offer, finally rejected by the workers, who demand a standardization of wages throughout the country, was published in the London *Times* on March 19.

It being agreed that wages in the industry must depend upon the financial ability to pay, the owners propose that the following principles be adopted by the Mining Association of Great Britain and the Miners' Federation of Great Britain for application to the determination of the wages payable in each district upon the financial position of such district:

1. That the base rates now existing at each colliery with the percentages, or the equivalents in any district where there has been a subsequent merging into new standards, which were paid in July, 1914, shall be regarded as the point below which wages shall not be automatically reduced. [Note. All additions which have since been made to the base rates prevailing in July, 1914, shall be maintained and the percentages which have been added to pieceworkers' rates consequent upon the reduction in hours from eight to seven shall continue.]

2. That the owners' aggregate standard profits in each district in correspondence with the above shall be taken as 17 per cent of the aggregate amount of wages payable as above.

3. That any surplus remaining of the proceeds of the sale of coal at the pit head after such wages and profits and all other costs have been taken into account shall be divisible as to 75 per cent to the workmen and 25 per cent to the owners, the workmen's share being expressed as a percentage upon the standard rate of the district. [Note. To meet the present abnormal situation the owners are prepared to accept a temporary departure from the strict application of the above principles to the extent of waiving their share of the surplus in favor of the workmen on condition that ascertainments are made at monthly periods to determine the wages payable during such time as the above concession on the part of the owners continues to operate.]

4. That if during any period of ascertainment the owners' standard profit is not realized the amount of the deficiency shall be carried forward as a prior charge against any surplus available for the payment of wages in excess of the basis of wages provided in No. 1 above.

Contributors to This Issue

DONALD BRYANT is the pseudonym of a Washington correspondent who, for several years, has devoted himself to a study of State Department affairs.

ROBERT FROST, one of the most distinguished of American poets, is the author of three volumes of verse which distil into a few short poems all the substance which for forty years has gone into the local color short stories of New England.

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Spring Book Supplement

The Pauper Witch of Grafton

By ROBERT FROST

Now that they've got it settled whose I be,
I'm going to tell them something they won't like:
They've got it settled wrong, and I can prove it.
Flattered I must be to have two towns fighting
To make a present of me to each other.
They don't dispose me, either one of them,
To spare them any trouble. Double trouble's
Always the witch's motto anyway.
I'll double theirs for both of them—you watch me.
They'll find they've got the whole thing to do over,
That is, if facts is what they want to go by.
They set a lot (now don't they?) by a record
Of Arthur Amy's having once been up
For hog reeve in March Meeting here in Warren.
I could have told them any time this twelve month
The Arthur Amy I was married to
Couldn't have been the one they say was up
In Warren at March Meeting for the reason
He wa'n't but fifteen at the time they say.
The Arthur Amy I was married to
Voted the only times he ever voted,
Which wasn't many, in the town of Wentworth.
One of the times was when 'twas in the warrant
To see if the town wanted to take over
The tote road to our clearing where we lived.
I'll tell you who'd remember—Heman Lapish.
Their Arthur Amy was the father of mine.
So now they've dragged it through the law courts once
I guess they'd better drag it through again.
Wentworth and Warren's both good towns to live in,
Only I happen to prefer to live
In Wentworth from now on; and when all's said
Right's right, and the temptation to do right
When I can hurt someone by doing it
Has always been too much for me, it has.
I know of some folks that'd be set up
At having in their town a noted witch:
But most would have to think of the expense
That even I would be. They ought to know
That, as a witch, I'd often milk a bat
And that'd be enough to last for days.
It'd make my position stronger, think,
If I was to consent to give some sign
To make it surer that I was a witch?
It wa'n't no sign, I s'pose, when Mallice Huse
Said that I took him out in his old age
And rode all over everything on him
Until I'd had him worn to skin and bones,
And if I'd left him hitched unblanketed
In front of one town hall, I'd left him hitched
In front of every one in Grafton County.
Some cried shame on me not to blanket him,
The poor old man. It would have been all right
If someone hadn't said to gnaw the posts
He stood beside and leave his trade mark on them,
So they could recognize them. Not a post
That they could hear tell of was scarified.
They made him keep on gnawing till he whined.
Then that same smarty someone said to look—
He'd bet Huse was a cribber and had gnawed
The crib he slept in—and as sure's you're born
They found he'd gnawed the four posts of his bed,
All four of them to splinters. What did that prove?
Not that he hadn't gnawed the hitching posts
He said he had besides. Because a horse
Gnaws in the stable ain't no proof to me
He don't gnaw trees and posts and fences, too.
But everybody took it for a proof.
I was a strapping girl of twenty then.
The smarty someone who spoiled everything
Was Arthur Amy. You know who he was.
That was the way he started courting me.
He never said much after we were married,
But I mistrusted he was none too proud
Of having interfered in the Huse business.
I guess he found he got more out of me
By having me a witch. Or something happened
To turn him round. He got to saying things
To undo what he'd done and make it right,
Like "No she ain't come back from kiting yet.
Last night was one of her nights out. She's kiting.
She thinks when the wind makes a night of it
She might as well herself." But he liked best
To let on he was plagued to death with me:
If anyone had seen me coming home
Over the ridge-pole stride of a broomstick
As often as he had in the tail of the night
He guessed they'd know what he had to put up with.
Well, I showed Arthur Amy signs enough
Off from the house as far as we could keep
And from barn smells you can't wash out of ploughed ground
With all the rain and snow of seven years;
And I don't mean just skulls of Rogers Rangers
On Mooselauke, but woman signs to man,
Only bewitched so I would last him longer.
Up where the trees grow short, the mosses tall,
I made him gather me wet snow berries
On slippery rocks beside a waterfall.
I made him do it for me in the dark.
And he liked everything I made him do.
I hope if he is where he sees me now
He's so far off he can't see what I've come to.
You *can* come down from everything to nothing.
All is, if I'd aknown when I was young
And full of it, that this would be the end,
It doesn't seem as if I'd had the courage
To make so free and kick up in folks' faces.
I might have, but it doesn't seem as if.

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The Progress of Poetry: Germany

By LUDWIG LEWISOHN

ROMANTIC poetry, allied both to the living influence of the folk-song and to the strong inwardness of the national psychology, persisted later in German than in any other literature. It is only in the last of the major romantic poets, Eduard Mörike, that we find the pure mood of romanticism occasionally crinkled by conceits or hardened by self-consciousness. Within his lifetime, moreover, the main stream of romantic verse grew broad and shallow; the minor writers turned from the difficult lyric to the easy tale, and during the third quarter of the nineteenth century drawing-room tables were littered with heavy volumes in red and gold containing either translations of "Evangeline" and "Hiawatha" or the nerveless narratives of Julius Wolf and Gottfried Kinkel. Cultivated readers turned during the post-romantic or silver age to the poetry of the Munich school: to the fine ivory, alternating with celluloid, of Emanuel Geibel, to the sunny but superficial Italianate glow of Paul Heyse, or even to the tricky dexterity of Friedrich Bodenstedt. But the public taste of the period was below its actual achievement. For, though the lyrical work of each was overshadowed by the non-lyrical, it produced four poets of all but the highest order in Theodor Storm, Friedrich Hebbel, Gottfried Keller, and Konrad Ferdinand Meyer. Hebbel's verse is gnarled and knotted by the intricacy of his thought; the moods and notes of Keller are delicate and subtle; the carved marble and beaten bronze, the union of antique clarity and modern warmth will always restrict the audience of Meyer to the fit and few; but whoever cares to grasp the essential character of Germanic lyricism must always return to the inviolate simplicity, the fathomless depth and purity of mood, the consummate marriage of speech and experience that mark the handful of verses left by Theodor Storm.

These poets worked in comparative isolation. Their verse was reintroduced to the nation by the modern renaissance of German poetry which set in when Detlev von Liliencron published his first volume in 1884. "The power and originality of the lyric impulse" which, according to so staid a critic as Professor J. G. Robertson of London, marked that rebirth, led to the production of a body of poetry that must be ranked with the work of the very great periods of creative literature. It is early and profitless to discuss the stature of the chief poets: Detlev von Liliencron, Richard Dehmel, Stefan George, Rainer Maria Rilke. Other critics would add or substitute names. What strikes every sensitive reader is the extraordinary diffusion of lyrical energy, so that the anthologies, like those of the Elizabethan and Jacobean periods, are thronged with isolated lyrics of permanent loveliness by writers whose other works and names an earlier age would scarcely have recorded.

The movements within this poetic renaissance are, according to a rough but useful division, four. The naturalists, grouped about Liliencron, sought to tighten form, to give speech body and savor, to write with their eye on the object and render it in its authentic character. Such was also the aim of Richard Dehmel. But to it he added a richer ideology and an unrivaled insight into the psychology of modern life. The music of his verse is at once freer and more intricate; it stands midway between the vague rhythms of Peter Hille and the wavering, half-mystical melodies of the true symbolists: Max Dauthendey, Alfred Mombert, Leo Greiner. But Dehmel, like every major German poet, absorbed the vision and the cadence of the folk-song and hence his art is akin to that of the third group—Otto Julius Bierbaum, Carl Busse, Hermann Hesse—which added to the romantic folk-tradition subtle perceptions and unheard-of overtones. The influence of Nietzsche's Shakespearean speech-craft, finally, links him to that fourth group of poets—Stefan George, Rainer Maria Rilke, Hugo von Hofmannsthal, Karl Vollmoeller, Stefan Zweig—who sought to wring both life and speech free of all dross, to recreate the world in the image of their highest moments, and to render their verses timeless by commemorating always the depth and not the tumult of the soul. Thus George creates in Der Herr der Insel a myth to illustrate the necessary aloofness of the noble mind, and in his Invocation and Prelude indicates the history of his purged, considerate heart:

> In my life, too, were angry days and evil
> And music that rang dissonant and shrill;
> Now a kind spirit holds the balance level,
> And all my deeds are at an Angel's will.

Such, described with excessive brevity, were the dominant strains in German poetry at the outbreak of the World War. Of the more eminent poets, Liliencron was dead; Dehmel, like Régnier and D'Annunzio, flung himself into the fray but was visited by shattering doubts as early as 1916; the symbolists stood aloof, as did George and Rilke. Hermann Hesse and Stefan Zweig retired to Switzerland and protested against the great crime and all its participants. The ephemeral verse expression of tribal fear and passion flooded both the press and the bookshops. But side by side with it arose many lyrics in which, in the old spirit of folk-poetry, war is accepted as part of the inevitable and tragic fate of humble men and its experiences are expressed without debate or rancor. Not a few common recruits—a boiler-maker, Heinrich Lersch, two factory hands, Karl Bröger and Max Barthel—were wrought upon by the war to the point of developing genuine poetic voices. With whatever impulse they entered the conflict, they found in it the spirit of Lersch, who rescued and buried under fire the wind-shaken body of a fallen Frenchman:

> Begraben:—Ein fremder Kamerad.
> Es irrten meine Augen. Mein Herz, *du* irrst dich nicht:
> Es hat ein jeder Toter des Bruders Angesicht.

Today the older poets are still heard, but their voices sound a little faint and muffled. A new generation has arisen, men born in the late eighties or early nineties of the last century, and these, though very varied in their gifts and methods, have been grouped under the name of expressionists. The meaning of that much debated word is identical with the single conviction that unites them. And it is a very simple one. They have despaired of the world and have returned to the creative spirit of man. The conquest of nature produced a civilization that bore the hideous and poisonous fruit of the war. We must, then, not yield ourselves to the world nor draw our inspiration from any ob-

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jective thing, but spiritualize and save that chaos which is the universe through human light and love. Again, though in a sense so different from the theological one, we must let the world be anthropocentric. Each of these poets reiterates the cry of Walter Hasenclever: "Return to me, my soul!" And out of the blending of a myriad creative souls that absorb into themselves and purify and make beautiful all things, even to the humblest, even to the most loathsome, there is to arise a new heaven and a new earth.

Many of the expressionists published their first collections before the war. A harsh and sundering cry comes from these volumes, a cry of isolation and bitterness. Acrid sketches of industrial scenes alternate with a lyrical expression of withdrawal and desperate quietism. Thus Albert Ehrenstein wrote:

> Ich rege mich nicht,
> Denn alle Gedanken und Taten
> Trüben die Reinheit der Welt.

It was inevitable that these poets should rebel at being swept into war. The world and its forces, which they were even then beginning to reject, crushed them into the common, bloody mold. Those who survived came back with all their powers of speech liberated; they came back revolutionists, deniers of all force, impassioned lovers of the humanity which they had watched in its unspeakable pain. They all, in other words, attained on the fields of France or Poland the temper and the vision of Siegfried Sassoon. But they passed almost at once beyond that vision of irony and woe to a spiritual rebuilding of the world. "Accursed be any who would rule!" is the last conclusion of René Schickele; and Rudolf Leonhard sums up with immense concision the innermost cognition of the revolutionary expressionists: "Jedes Du, wie ich, sagt: Ich!"

In their modes of artistic expression these poets are sharply divided from each other. There is a good deal of free verse of a highly rhythmic character, and there is in the vibrating revolutionary chants of Karl Otten, Ludwig Rubiner, and Rudolf Leonhard something of the breadth of Whitman and something of the echo technique of Paul Fort. But the strongest and most memorable work uses forms derived from the traditional ones, even though the inner music is both more aching and more stormy. The influence one marks is that of Rilke, as in the brimming harmonies of Theodor Däubler. But poets as different as Walter Hasenclever, whose quatorzains have a rich exactness and a Goethean radiance, and Gottfried Benn, whose verse is pitilessly intellectual and stripped, have drawn from the old forms a note and an accent indisputably their own. Of all these poets it may be said that to them beauty, which many often attain, and Däubler and Hasenclever and Georg Trakl always, is a by-product. The mark of all their work is its supreme intensity, the deep inner necessity that commanded its utterance. And that applies not only to their occasional moments of dithyrambic violence. It applies to the gravely beautiful verses of Hasenclever when he writes:

> Gib, grosse Erde, stärkre Sensationen,
> Dass wir, die nur im Unerfüllten wohnen
> Nicht einsam werden vor Vergänglichkeit;

it applies to Gottfried Benn when the vision of human pain drives him to wish that we might return to the estate of our remotest ancestors in a primeval marsh:

> Schon ein Libellenkopf, ein Mövenflügel
> Wäre zu weit und litte schon zu sehr.

Among these poets there is one who, whatever posterity may determine, impresses one today as having the range and wealth and power of creative energy that belong to genius. Franz Werfel was born in Prague in 1890. In his earliest verses there is a great desolateness of mood. All lands dissolve, all places melt under the feet of man. The war drove him at once into the abiding city of the soul. As early as August 4, 1914, he repudiated the "storm of false words," the "empty thunder" that "smote against the pitiless walls of all the world." He uttered at the same moment his faith in the simple goodness that alone can save civilization. To that faith he has clung, and to its expression he has devoted his most memorable poems. But a warning must be sounded. By goodness Werfel does not mean one fixed and specific variety of human conduct. He means that resistless and creative spirit of love to which all human experience is sanctified by its necessity and its pain, the spirit that knows nothing of exclusions or repudiations but lifts men into the gardens of God to heights proportionate to the intensity of their aliveness here.

> Wie sehr wir hier sind, sind wir dort vorhanden—
> Die hier unruheten aus deinen Tiefen
> Sie werden ruhen dort in deinen Tiefen.

With that spirit of love Werfel has utterly identified himself. He strives to be the good man, "der gute Mensch" (so different from Wordsworth's "happy warrior"), of his own close-knit and sonorous paean:

> Sein ist die Kraft, das Regiment der Sterne.

As such he draws into himself human souls and their diverse agonies. He includes within himself a "fat man peering into a mirror," an "old woman creeping about her house," Hecuba the eternal mother, a father and a son. His awareness of the sufferings of his fellows is so vigilant and tireless that he feels the highest ecstasy of his personal life but as an added weight of guilt:

> Ihr Keuchenden auf Strassen und auf Flüssen!
> Gibt es ein Gleichgewicht in Welt und Leben
> Wie werd ich diese Schuld bezahlen müssen.

His verses are not often merely beautiful; they are always in the highest degree expressive of an overwhelmingly felt reality. They are full of the names of concrete and ugly things. But these things are never named to be coldly dissected or to be hated or cast off. They are named because all men and all things must be redeemed before any can find salvation. Thus strange and hideous things are burned into beauty by the fires of the soul, even as God, in this poet's vision, becomes God by identifying himself with all the pain and horror of that world which he must wholly save in order to have created it at all.

> Du aber, Herr, stiegst nieder, auch zu mir,
> Und hast die tausendfache Qual empfunden,
> Du hast in jedem Weib entbunden,
> Und starbst im Kot, in jedem Stück Papier,
> In jedem Zirkusseehund wurdest Du geschunden,
> Und Hure warst Du manchem Kavalier.

Out of that creative spirit of love must be born the revolution that is to shatter the walls that hem in all the true sources of life, the resistless, universal revolution that is to restore man to his own soul. Such is the burden of Werfel's Revolutions-Aufrur, Veni Creator Spiritus, Ein Geistliches Lied, and Die Leidenschaftlichen, poems of an incomparable rhythmic force and of a diction so full of fire and sting that they seem written in a speech cleansed of all literary use and staleness and remembrance.

The spirit of Werfel and the expressionists is that of all

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vigorous imaginative literature in Germany today. The reactionaries are dumb and barren. One after another the older writers join the new voices, and so rancorous a participant in the war as Ernst Lissauer celebrates in the large and lustrous measures of his latest volume ("Die Ewigen Pfingsten") the tongues of flame which, on ever recurring Pentecosts, descended on Luther and Michelangelo, on Bach and Goethe and Beethoven, and on all those creative prophets and confessors whose deeds alone give meaning to history and to life.

I pray unto a great God, a God I know,
I pray to the God of Beethoven and Michelangelo,
Who with a quiver of might the suns and moons illumed,
I pray to a God who in the service of his own works is consumed.
An architect I would be and pray to my God with spires,
I pray to the God of organs in the dusk of echoing choirs;
I pray to the God at whose feet eternity lies like a realm outspread,
I pray to the God who marches through history with his millennial tread;
I pray to a God who breathing builds up and also destroys,
I pray unto my own God and I know he hears my voice.

Mirage

By GEORGE STERLING

I well remember that the year was old—
  A time of fallen leaves and wings departing.
  Beside our western sea the grass was starting,
And willow buds were eager to unfold.

But all that day the shadowed paths were wet,
  As though in cloud had come the waiting vision,
  And on the sunset altars of transition
Awhile that mournfulness and beauty met.

Long gone the night that held my deathless dream—
  Its vanished rain long given to the roses,
  But though I sleep, no other night discloses
The Three who shone by that delaying Stream.

One was called Evening for her slow caress,
  And one called Peace because her eyes were tender,
  (Softly she came, most innocent and slender),
And one called Heartache for her loveliness.

They were of slumber and mirage's sky—
  Frailties of vision, an august illusion,
  Living a little by the soul's inclusion,
Living in memory as long as I.

Yet did they make the burning stars seem clods—
  Those shadows of illusion, passing slowly;
  For on each face a Light fell sad and holy
From tracts I dreamt forbidden save to gods.

A little while, a little while they gleamed,
  Who were not, are not, yet shall haunt me ever,
  Mingling the sorrow of the Once and Never,
To glorify the dream of him that dreamed.

I shall not know them other than they are,
  Who find on paths that memory retraces
  The immortal, mournful beauty of those faces
That, haunting, hold me exile of their star.

Books

The Cambridge History of American Literature

The Cambridge History of American Literature. Edited by W. P. Trent, John Erskine, Stuart P. Sherman, and Carl Van Doren. Volumes III and IV. G. P. Putnam's Sons.

THIS great undertaking, now at length accomplished, is something more than a history of American literature; something less than a history of American thought and culture. It inevitably suggests the question: What, then, is "literature"? For in accordance with any rigid and narrow definition of the word, if literature be regarded as a "fine" art as distinct from an "applied" art, many of the subjects here discussed would be excluded—"Science and Health," for example, or the *Ladies' Home Journal.* In many chapters we are concerned with what may be called pre-literary and sub-literary products of the pen: with poor-white ballads and dime novels and defunct journals and economic treatises. Such books are, of course, rightly included in a work like this, which aims to provide a foundation for literary study and research. But the amount of space devoted to forgotten or half-forgotten essayists and historians and travelers and divines suggests the thought that a large proportion of "American literature" is of a relative importance to us quite out of scale with its absolute importance. The strict limitations imposed in the Cambridge "English Literature" upon the consideration of even such a writer as Walter Pater (for example) is a measure of the comparative value of the English and the American achievement in literature; how many pages would have been allotted to an American Pater in a work that devotes four pages to Ik Marvel?

In this final instalment three figures of major importance stand out above the rest: Mark Twain, William Dean Howells, and Henry James. The chapter on Mark Twain has been assigned to Professor Sherman, from whom his insolence and his vitality and his laughter ("broad as ten thousand beeves at pasture") receive a treatment so sympathetic as to have raised the eyebrows of the critic's spiritual forbears. Mr. Sherman wisely dismisses with a few words the much-discussed but certainly over-estimated posthumous works which are in such marked contrast with the great books of Mark Twain's prime. Of some biographical and psychological importance, these writings are not part of the characteristic "output" of the man. Perchance Clemens inclined naturally toward an attitude of pessimism and satiric disillusion; but the view of life that he chose to express was essentially humorous and it is as a humorist that Mr. Sherman has depicted him. The foremost name in the chapter on The Later Novel by Mr. Van Doren, overshadowing that of Mrs. Stowe on the one hand and of Weir Mitchell and Marion Crawford on the other, is of course William Dean Howells. Mr. Van Doren emphasizes his achievement as the most extensive transcriber of modern American life, as the apostle of "the religion of reality." He dwells upon the grace and charm of this transcript, upon its kind wisdom and thoughtful mirth; and without attempting to pass any final judgment upon the work of a man so lately dead, he wonders whether such qualities, in the absence of both malice and intensity, may serve to keep that work alive. He glances across the water at the fame of Jane Austen, thus suggesting by implication Howells's claim to a rank which probably he will never attain in any general estimation of his excellences. Professor Beach deals less convincingly with the art of Henry James. Despite various acute remarks upon its characteristics—its "dramatic limitation," its "intimate psychological notation," the suggestion that it carries of "initiation" into some spiritual or social value hidden from the vulgar—the critic does not seem to penetrate behind the mask of the great, benign face to the man who is revealed so attractively in the "Letters."

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The chapters dealing with various groups of writers differ, despite evident editorial care in adjusting individual methods to a total plan, in manner and in excellence. At the outset of this "History" it was announced that certain living writers would be included in the survey—a wise departure from the plan of the companion "History of English Literature," and a necessary one in recording the history of a literature that stands in some need of bolstering up by the presence of eminent names. But the chapter on the novelists tacitly, and that on the historians explicitly, omit any such names. One finds a brief list of living poets in the appropriate place, but with no discussion of the novel theories and practices which have aroused so much comment during the last decade. On the other hand, when one comes to the economists and the philosophers, one finds that ample space has been devoted to the work of men still living and, in some cases, in mid-career. The accounts of Later Theology and of Later Philosophy are both carefully articulated and well-reasoned pieces of criticism; but both the chapter on Later Historians and the bibliography that accompanies it proceed according to no very logical sequence, and Professor Seligman's review of economic writings is a bare, hard, unilluminating, and excessively dry catalogue of names and titles, set down in chronological order and with hardly an indication of the general tendencies of economic speculation in this country. Though in the discussion of the philosophers and of the theologians there is some mention of the effect of evolutionary doctrines on American thought, no separate chapter is devoted to the literature of science, a department of writing as much entitled as many others to inclusion within the broad domain of this history of literature. How masses of material lying on the outskirts of that domain may be so ordered as to serve an instructive purpose is well seen in Mr. Dellenbaugh's account of the literature of travel and exploration. Attention should be called to the enormous and especially useful bibliography to this chapter. No less excellent, and equally removed from the great central highroad of letters, and equally typical of America, are the accounts of later periodical literature: the Magazines and the Newspapers. Professor Stephenson's discussion of the qualities of Lincoln's thought and style approaches perilously near to the merely "appreciative," though it is by no means so amorphous as Senator Lodge's somewhat similar essay on Webster in an earlier volume. The study comes to an abrupt close at the beginning of Lincoln's "final manner," with no direct mention of those addresses by which Lincoln is best remembered and with no allusion to the astonishingly vital and individual quality of his war dispatches. One is reminded, per contra, that in the crowded pages of the Cambridge "Modern History" space is found for the citation in full of the address at Gettysburg. To Professor Wolff fell the difficult task of surveying American scholarship. He has performed it far more satisfactorily than did Dr. Sandys the parallel task in the Cambridge "English Literature." One notes with special satisfaction the quite admirable estimate of the achievement and temperament of Gildersleeve, whose influence upon American letters has not always received just recognition. One regrets that Dr. Wolff limited his discussion of writers upon art to a brief treatment of Charles Eliot Norton. Professor Boynton has written of hymns without acquiring beforehand any very thorough mastery of the purely musical side of his subject; else he would not have said (for example) that the melodies of Dykes were "attuned to the emotional appeals of the nonconformist pulpit rather than to the stately traditions of Rome or England." If there is any modern composer of hymn-music in whom the English tradition lives on, it is Dr. Dykes, who passed almost all his life as organist of Durham cathedral.

Three chapters may, for different reasons, be provocative of controversy. One is Professor Ayres's sane, good humored, mildly ironical, and solidly grounded study of The English Language in America, in which the central point made is that recognized by all scholars but ignored by those who rush in where scholars hesitate to tread: namely, that a language so widely diffused as is English, a language employed in such contrasting conditions of environment and tradition, must necessarily undergo local and even national variations; but that these variations in no way constitute a distinct and separate "language"; and that the proper attitude to take is that of loyalty, barring the more extreme peculiarities that are not historically justifiable, to the forms taken by the language in the country of one's birth. Such propositions are indisputable—a fact that may not stop disputation. Discussion of another sort may be aroused by Professor Riley's study of Popular Bibles: "The Book of Mormon" and "Science and Health." Some critics might have chosen to deal with such "delicate" subjects by means of innuendo and evasion. Mr. Riley is to be congratulated upon the plainspokenness, authoritative yet touched with humor, of this contribution. Professor Pound's chapter on Oral Literature suggests the possibility of controversy of another sort, for the subject impinges closely upon the ground of the "popular ballad," that immensely debatable land.

A word only can be spared to the remaining chapters. That on the Drama presses to the extreme limits any possible definition of "literature." The study of Political Writers is in welcome contrast to the chapter on Economists mentioned above. The chapter on Education reaches back to the colonial period and presents an illuminating survey of educational theories, practices, and problems. The final chapters in the work treat of non-English writing in the United States: German, French, Yiddish, and Aboriginal. Miss Austin offers a not altogether convincing plea for the Amerind myths as a proper subject for modern imaginative treatment. Professor Faust's account of German writings is timely in view of the fact that the need of detailed study of this body of literature, especially of the German-American lyric, has been lately urged by a committee of the Modern Language Association.

It is a pity that the publishers decided to issue as two volumes the material that was evidently arranged by the editors to appear in one, as originally announced. The continuous pagination throughout both volumes is awkward; unlike all other volumes in the Cambridge Histories, Volume III of this instalment is unprovided with bibliographies and separate index; and in consequence of this nearly half of Volume IV is taken up with the bibliographical apparatus and index. There are some omissions and errors in the work. It is not obvious, in view of the non-literary quality (in any rigorous sense of the word) of much of the writing included, why no mention is made, especially in the chapter on Travel and Exploration, of the work of Theodore Roosevelt. Among writers on Spain, and possibly among the minor poets, space should have been found for the name of Severn Teakle Wallis. It is strange that from the roll of American scholars the name of Bloomfield, which should be found side by side with that of Lanman, is missing. In the same chapter should have been mentioned Henry Reed, whose influence was widespread during the years before the "university" phase of American scholarship. The remarkably gifted Albert T. Bledsoe is referred to in more than one place but without any allusion to what is perhaps his most characteristic book: "Is Davis a Traitor?" of which a Chief Justice of the United States is reported to have said that had Davis been tried before his court, with Bledsoe as the lawyer for the defense, he would never have been convicted.

The last word, however, must be of grateful acknowledgment of the admirable way in which the editors, and, in general, the contributors, have accomplished the task set them. Other histories of American literature will still be read for the light that comes when filtered through a single mind. In all other respects, in breadth of scope, in variety of interest, in the happy union of the individual topic and the specialist best qualified to deal with that topic, and especially in the generous and generally exhaustive bibliographical apparatus supplied, the Cambridge "History" supersedes all earlier attempts to tell the story and to appraise the achievement of our national literature.

SAMUEL C. CHEW

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In Russia

Mayfair to Moscow. Clare Sheridan's Diary. Boni and Liveright.

Russia in the Shadows. By H. G. Wells. George H. Doran Company.

"MY philosophy of life," notes Clare Sheridan in her diary on the eve of adventuring into Russia to bring back the heads of Lenin and Trotzky, "is to travel light and not accumulate, but to throw off." If some other observers of bolshevist Russia had thrown off their theories at the border and retained only their soap and their sanity, few people would still be sharing Winston Churchill's conception of bolshevism as a crocodile that must be destroyed. It is theories that make one see crocodiles instead of communists. Mrs. Sheridan, whose concern in Moscow was portrait work, not politics, had no theories. She was better off in that respect than H. G. Wells. He, it is true, has thrown off successive theories so rapidly as to occasion Mr. Chesterton's famous remark that one can lie awake nights and hear him grow. But a few crossed the border with him and got in his way a bit in Russia. Mrs. Sheridan could not be irritated, as Wells is, by Karl Marx's beard because she has never been irritated by Karl Marx's theories. Traveling light suggests abandonment of middle-aged habits as well as of theories. And again Mrs. Sheridan has the advantage over Wells. In that interesting guest-house in Moscow where the sugar-king once entertained Caruso, Wells and Mrs. Sheridan condoled with each other over the discomforts and the lack of privacy in Russian life—where the rooms were like a railway station. But Wells (like Mrs. Gummidge) "felt it more." He needed his morning bath and his newspapers and a quiet breakfast and leisure and peace, or he could not work. If one cannot work without a hot bath to start the day with, it is, Mrs. Sheridan admits, lamentable to be in Russia. It was perhaps because he was uncomfortable that Wells saw more danger signals than Mrs. Sheridan, who felt "safe as a mountain" in Moscow, and who foresaw a winter of hardship for the city, but no disorders. Cold baths in cold weather and bad food are unpleasant, "but not necessarily indicative of a disruption." They need not blight one's outlook. She thought Wells sadly needed shaking out of his habits.

Discomforts did not blight Mrs. Sheridan's outlook. Not since John Reed tore through the Petrograd streets in a wild Revolutionary armored car during those ten days that shook the world in November, 1917, has anyone seemed to have a better time in Russia than Mrs. Sheridan. There were moments of depression when there was little prospect of accomplishing her mission and nothing to do but darn stockings and listen to Mr. W. B. Vanderlip read Rupert Brooke. But everything she desired came in time, from Trotzky's head to the much-needed fur coat that made her a sharer in "the government distribution of bourgeois property to the people." There was little outward excitement. Counter-revolutions broke out, Trotzky was wounded, barricades were erected in the streets—in the London newspapers. In Moscow nothing fell but the early October snow, to make the city beautiful. But there was spiritual excitement in plenty. Not precisely of the sort to make one exclaim "Bliss was it in that dawn to be alive," but the less exalted thrills of novelty and contrast: watching Sergey Trotzky, son of the Russian Jewish exile, playing football in the palace grounds; sharing with Kamenev the Crown Prince of Sweden's biscuits (which Mrs. Sheridan did not discard at the border); listening to a theater full of Russians rock with laughter at the mention of Churchill and Lloyd George; attending Litvinov's banquet to the Chinese general in the sugar-king's palace, and sympathizing with the happiness of the sugar-king's old man-servant, who for this occasion got out the Sèvres salt-cellars and the cut-glass decanters and felt that he was once more back in the respectable pre-Revolutionary days, serving his master's friends. And there was excitement in studying exceptional people at close range. Mrs. Sheridan missed Chicherin, the recluse of the Foreign Office, who suggested four in the morning as his quietest time for a sitting—"unfortunately my quietest time," as she observed. But she secured Lenin himself, Trotzky, with whom she discussed whether Byron or Shelley were the greater revolutionary, and Dzirjinsky, the head of the Extraordinary Commission. Dzirjinsky, who spent a quarter of his life in prison, was her most quiet sitter; "one learns patience and calm in prison," he remarked. The lone capitalist in the guesthouse, Mr. W. B. Vanderlip, was as interesting a study as any communist, especially when he discovered one shop which had not been requisitioned by the Government, and bought birds of paradise, yellow ones, black ones, and white ones, to take home to the decorative American ladies who in his opinion should not work, but be worked for.

Mrs. Sheridan made one mistake: she was not imprisoned in Moscow, and this increased her passport difficulties when she sought permission to enter our land of past revolutions. Is there in all these lively impressions of an adventurous artist material on which to base a Russian policy? Obviously not; but material to bring sanity and humor and humanity into the Russian question and destroy a few crocodile nightmares.

Mrs. Sheridan was in Moscow only. H. G. Wells spent most of his brief fortnight in Petrograd. He is concerned with broad interpretations and a policy. It is easier to estimate his actual contribution to our knowledge now that his impressions are not hedged around by the John Spargo and H. A. Jones comments, which the "anticipatory energy" of the New York *Times* attached to them. These comments, to be sure, deserved no more attention than was accorded to them by Mr. Wells, who declared that he would as soon argue with a remote, tiresome, and inattentive foghorn as with Henry Arthur Jones. But however appropriate a foghorn accompaniment is to a perusal of the *Times*, it is a distraction. Mr. Wells's conclusions have little of the supporting evidence now being abundantly furnished by writers like Mr. Brailsford and Mr. Ransome; but they are in harmony with this evidence. No reasonably informed person needs to be told at this late date that the inherent rottenness of the old Russian system accounts for one of the greatest crashes in history; or that the peasant, the base of the old pyramid, is still there on the land, more firmly and widely intrenched, and that the problem of peasant cooperation is the great problem of today; or that the emergency bolshevik government after a period of chaos brought a certain order and security to Russia, in spite of stupid attacks from without; or that it was the only force intelligent and coherent and purposeful enough to do this; or that the Bolsheviki have had to modify their theories as they have come to realize that they have not so much captured a state as got on board a derelict. It was worth while, however, to have Mr. Wells say it all, because of the wide audience he commands. He had no contact with the peasants. He has never had much patience with those static elements of society that generation after generation carry on their life in a general atmosphere of cows, hens, and domestic intimacy. The fear he expresses of the advance of peasant barbarism is at least partly due to ignorance. He calls "the great mass" of the peasants illiterate; and fifty per cent of them were illiterate in 1914, according to so well-informed a student of peasant problems as Mr. Maurice Hindus. That is a great mass, but not *the* great mass—not the great majority. And among these illiterate peasants, Mr. Hindus tells us, were some extremely capable and intelligent workers in the great cooperative enterprises, which Mr. Wells entirely ignores when he denies to the peasantry any constructive quality.

With his gift for vivid realization Mr. Wells has made us see the dying city of Petrograd, with all the shabbiness and the shuttered shops, the starved hospitals, the general disrepair, the dwindling population. He has also cheered us a little with the spectacle of Chaliapin, the Artist Triumphant, strong enough to demand payment in flour and eggs; and with the

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more inspiring picture of Gorki, semi-official salvage man with the consent of Lenin, striving desperately to preserve the intellectual continuity of Russian life, harboring artists and scientists and literary men in the Houses of Science and Literature and Art. That glimpse—of what the intellectual blockade of Russia has meant to those who value knowledge more than bread—was worth the trip to Russia. And there is hope in the little glimpses Mr. Wells secured of the creative and educational efforts that are under way, "varying between the admirable and ridiculous, islands at least of cleanly work and of hope amidst the vast spectacle of grisly want and wide decay. Who can weigh the power and possibility of their thrust against the huge gravitation of this sinking system?"

DOROTHY BREWSTER

Disraeli: Last Phase

The Life of Benjamin Disraeli, Earl of Beaconsfield. By G. E. Buckle in succession to W. F. Monypenny. Vols V and VI. The Macmillan Company.

FORTY years have passed since Disraeli died, and it is only now that this biography, the first volume of which appeared more than ten years ago, is completed, almost all those who knew him personally in the British Parliament having by this time disappeared. The work is alarmingly large, six octavo volumes; whereas Gladstone's life by Lord Morley consisted of but three, and those of other prominent statesmen in England and America, such as the Duke of Devonshire in the former and Theodore Roosevelt in the latter country, have been compressed into two. Nicolay and Hay's life of Lincoln with its ten volumes is a biography of vaster dimensions, but it is really a history of the Civil War as much as a biography of the President. Nevertheless Mr. G. E. Buckle is not to be censured for prolixity. There is, at least in these two concluding volumes, very little that was not worth inserting, for Disraeli's life is singularly interesting in its threefold aspect.

Born a Jew, at a time when Jews had not reached the importance and influence they now enjoy, he made his way by his own talents, in a country which had not yet become a democracy, to be the leader of a proud and ancient aristocracy, and he rose to be not only twice Prime Minister but both the special favorite of the sovereign and an extremely popular figure with the rank and file of the Tory party. Secondly, his career was connected with three important political events: the ejection, in 1846, from office of Sir Robert Peel and the consequent schism in the Conservative Party, the extension of the electoral suffrage in 1867-8, and the events in the Turkish East between 1875 and 1880 which set in motion the force that ended by bringing about the World War of 1914. And thirdly, Disraeli's personal character was so singular as to have roused in his own time, and to rouse still, an eager curiosity to form a true conception of the being who was at once wary and daring, sometimes frank, sometimes wrapping himself in a cloud of mystery, externally cold and cynical, yet capable in inspiring warm attachments. Mr. Buckle had to display the man in all these aspects, and he did well to supply the world with abundant materials for a judgment. The book consists mainly of Disraeli's own letters, but when the biographer steps in to give a connecting or connected narrative, he does it clearly and concisely. One criticism on his handling of the subject must, however, be added. He carries that admiration for his hero which is pardonable in a biographer to a point at which it degenerates into partizanship and becomes so undiscriminating as to defeat its own purpose. When Disraeli is praised for acts which the sequel shows to have been blunders, when his illusions and ignorances are defended or explained away, the American reader who, being free from the party passions or prejudices of England, can judge political policies by their results, sets little store by the biographer's opinion, for he perceives that the results of the foreign policy Disraeli followed in his later years were deplorable, and are admitted on all hands to have been injurious both to England and to peoples of the Near East as a whole.

Volume V shows us Disraeli in 1868 after twenty-five years of political experience just reaching the goal of his ambition by becoming Prime Minister on the resignation (owing to failing health) of Lord Derby. Nothing could have seemed more unlikely twenty years earlier than that a Jewish adventurer should ever lead the Tory party, but his succession to Lord Derby was accepted as a matter of course, for there was no competition. He was, however, without a majority in the House of Commons, and during the months which had to elapse till a general election could be held on the extended suffrage conferred by the Reform Act of 1867, his Government held power on sufferance. As that Act had been passed by Derby and Disraeli, the Tory party expected that the newly enfranchised workingmen would show their gratitude by voting for the Tory ministry. This, however, they failed to do. The Liberals obtained a large majority: Gladstone, who led them, came into power as Prime Minister, and used his opportunity to pass a series of large and drastic measures. For six years Disraeli had to lead the opposition, but it was a united opposition, loyal to him; and he led it with unwearied vigilance and skill. He was a very adroit Parliamentary tactician, not speaking often, but reserving himself for important occasions, quick at seizing an opportunity, studying carefully the temper and proclivities of his audience, taking pains to select and bring forward and encourage capable young men and to send them out as skirmishers to harass the hostile ranks. Gladstone's ministry began before long to alienate various sections of the community by its reforms—it had to break many eggs in making its omelettes; and the Tory chief could see that the tide was turning in his own favor. By 1873 this had become clear. The authority of Gladstone's cabinet declined in Parliament and in the country. Before long, having been defeated in the House of Commons on an Irish University bill, it resigned office. The Queen sent for Disraeli to form a ministry, but he prudently preferred to wait for the next general election. Gladstone was obliged to resume office, but things continued to go ill for his administration, and when he suddenly dissolved Parliament in January, 1874, his party was vanquished at the polls. Disraeli came in as Prime Minister for the second time and had now for the first time what he had always longed for, a strong and compact majority behind him in both Houses of Parliament.

The time had come for him to show his powers in constructive legislation and to carry out various plans which during previous years he had adumbrated, especially schemes for pacifying Ireland and for improving the condition of the masses in Great Britain. But alas he was now getting old, the loss of his wife, in 1872, told heavily upon him, and his health began to fail. Attendance in the House of Commons was becoming too great a burden, so he transferred himself to the House of Lords, in 1876 taking the title of Earl of Beaconsfield. That year opened a new chapter in English history, for it saw the renewal of bitter party strife after two years of unusual quiet, a time of calm like that which was once called in America the "Era of Good Feeling." Attempts at an insurrection on the part of the Bulgarian Christians had been suppressed by the Turks with savage cruelty, and public opinion in Russia was stirred and called upon the Czar to take action; his Government threatened the Sultan; Austria and Germany joined in milder remonstrances; but Disraeli, refusing for some time to believe that the Turks had committed massacres, did his best to protect them against Russia and might have committed England to a defense of them by arms had not Gladstone stirred the whole country by his passionate denunciation of Turkish cruelty and oppression. When after more than a year's fighting the Turks had been overthrown and the Russian army was at the gates of Constantinople compelling the Sultan to sign at San Stefano a peace by which Bulgaria and other

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territories obtained their independence, Disraeli again came to the rescue and menaced Russia with war unless the Treaty of San Stefano were modified. The dispute was adjusted by the famous Congress of Berlin at which Disraeli headed the British delegation. It was the most triumphant moment of his career, for he and Bismarck were the central figures on whom the eyes of the world were fixed, and Bismarck was believed, in comparing Disraeli with the other prominent figures, to have remarked: "The old Jew, that is the man." The triumph was repeated on Disraeli's return to London, where he was welcomed by enthusiastic crowds. But their acclamation did not represent the sentiment of the nation, which had not shared his anti-Russian feelings nor approved his imperialistic policies. It was these policies, continued in the Afghan War of 1879, which brought about the complete rout of his party and the return of the Liberals to office in 1880. By this time he had grown old and feeble, and in April, 1881, he passed away after a career than which is none more remarkable—indeed, one may say more memorable—in the annals of the British Parliament.

So much of his public life, which can now be fully followed and judged by adding to a study of his speeches and writings the abundant revelations of his character and ideas contained in these six volumes. His letters make good reading; they are never prolix or tedious, always clear and to the point, usually shrewd and pungent, often amusing though not so brilliant or witty as his speeches and novels might lead one to expect. Wit he certainly had, perhaps beyond any of his contemporaries among statesmen of the front rank; but its flow was not abundant or spontaneous. Many of his "good things" seem to have been the fruit of careful preparation; sometimes they were borrowed. Shrewd as he was in his judgment of individual men and of the House of Commons as an assembly, he was by no means the far-seeing and wide-seeing oracle whom his followers fancied him to be. One is surprised to find in his letters strange mistakes not only as to the great movements which were agitating Europe but as to the temper and feeling of the English people themselves.

In these volumes, however, there is much more than politics —indeed, the politics are less entertaining than the relations of Disraeli with three women. Two of them were sisters, charming persons, the Countess of Chesterfield and the Countess of Bradford, to both of whom, after the death of his wife, he went for consolation and sympathy. The third was Queen Victoria, whose confidence he succeeded in winning to an extent hardly ever, if ever, equaled by a British Minister since the days of the Stuarts. How far this was due to the flattering arts of which Disraeli was a master, how far to the tactful consideration which he undoubtedly always showed to her, need not be here discussed. Of the fact there was no doubt: it appears from the letters printed in this biography. They show the Queen expressing her opinion upon all sorts of political topics in a way which would have surprised the English public of that day had they known of it, but it is only fair to add that there is no evidence that the Queen's views and exhortations really affected the policy of her Minister. They coincided with his own in nearly all of the leading questions of the day, and when Disraeli had a strong opinion of his own, he did not give way, except as regards ecclesiastical appointments. In these, it is worth remarking, the Queen's judgment was usually better than the Minister's, for the Queen seems to have had the benefit of judicious confidential advisers outside politics.

The incessant correspondence which Disraeli kept up with the two Countesses, from which profuse extracts are given, makes curious reading for those who had been led to think of Disraeli as a hardened old cynic, cold and self-reliant, for his letters are those of a sensitive and emotional being, hungering for sympathy and consolation, unable to live without love. Thus they raise as well as lower the judgment we have of this singular personage. He seems weaker than we believed, weak almost to the verge of silliness. Yet when we think of him as a lonely old man, compassion asserts itself, and we are glad of something that redeems his cynicism. This weakness, this craving for affection, made no difference to his public action. In politics he remained hard, tenacious, unscrupulous, sometimes even vindictive. Yet, if his life does not clear him from the charge of these faults, it does present him as having a likable side, capable of attracting those who worked with him, always courageous, and always faithful to his friends. A more interesting study in human nature has seldom presented itself in the life of a politician.

B.

Job Today

The Book of Job. By Morris Jastrow, Jr. J. B. Lippincott Company.

CAN a westerner ever hope to do justice to an oriental book? More especially, do the modern methods of Biblical criticism sufficiently take account of the peculiar workings of the oriental mind? To the western reader of the Old Testament there often seems to be a lack of any logical arrangement, of any coherence or consistency in the Biblical compositions. But does that mean that the easterner felt such a lack? Or did his mind supply subtle connecting thoughts which quite escape our more matter-of-fact modes of apprehension? Have we the right to attempt to rearrange this eastern literature in accordance with our own standards of what is decency and order in good literature? And yet there is another side to the question. When one really works into the literary remains of the poets and prophets of Israel, the conviction grows that one is dealing with men of extraordinary literary ability. Can such men be capable at one moment of the most lucid and convincing argument and in the next of views that flatly contradict it? Can such inconsistencies be chargeable simply to longitude?

In the series of commentaries on the Wisdom literature of Israel which Professor Jastrow is so generously giving to the public these questions are faced and answered. The various Old Testament books are most decidedly products of the oriental spirit, and unless this is allowed for it is impossible to understand them. But their orientalism must be sought for in the right place. "The difference between ancient oriental and modern western literature," we are told, "may be summed up in the statement that with us the finished book begins its life, whereas in the ancient orient the final form of composition represents a dead book, one that had ceased to arouse sufficient interest to warrant further additions being made to it." In other words, the orientalism which makes it so difficult for the ordinary western reader to understand the Old Testament is found in the fact that it has been subjected to a long continued and drastic process of revision. The westerner inclines to see in this fact of revision a qualification of the value of the book; the easterner sees in it the proof of its undying importance. Until our western readers can adjust themselves to this fact of a thoroughgoing revision in the Old Testament, its various books will remain unsolved enigmas.

Mr. Jastrow showed his sound instinct in choosing Ecclesiastes as the first illustration of his thesis. In "The Gentle Cynic" we have a book that in its original form was thoroughly skeptical, but has now been soundly converted by various additions into a book of edification for the pious and the orthodox. This thesis was not likely to provoke much opposition in the case of Ecclesiastes. The book has always been a puzzle, even to those who are inclined to discover sense in nonsense when the nonsense happens to be within the covers of the Authorized Version; and no such sacred associations have attached to this book as have gathered about other books of the Bible. It was good policy, therefore, to establish the thesis of revision in the case of this book first. Mr. Jastrow's interpretation would come as a relief rather than as a shock to religious sentiment. But the book of Job is a different matter. It discusses one of the most important themes which have ever occupied the human

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mind, the problem of suffering. It discusses it with an emotional intensity and imaginative power that have gripped the human mind in all subsequent ages and have secured for Job an undisputed place in the world's greatest literature. Furthermore, there still lurks, probably, in the minds of most of us the influence of the old dogmatic premise that an inspired book which formulates the problem of suffering in such an acute form must offer an adequate solution of it. An attack upon the integrity of Job which at the same time denies that a thoroughly satisfactory theodicy is to be found in it, will probably provoke vigorous dissent when an attack upon the integrity of Ecclesiastes remains unchallenged. But having presented his thesis in such a winning and attractive way in "The Gentle Cynic" as practically to disarm criticism, Mr. Jastrow has cleverly prepared the way for the application of the same thesis to the book of Job.

His theory of the book, which is an expansion of the work of many predecessors, is, in a word, as follows: The Prologue and Epilogue are an earlier folk-tale, a kind of ancient "Sunday school story," depicting how patiently the good Job endured the sufferings which he could not understand and how completely he was rewarded for so doing. This story was later made the subject of criticism by a group of bold and brilliant thinkers who said that Job would not have acted in that way at all. These critics were not irreligious men. On the contrary, they were profoundly religious and morally in earnest. For that very reason they revolted at the conventional theology and the a priori interpretations of life implied in the Sunday school story according to which every sinner must be punished and every good man rewarded or God would be unjust. It is the correctness of this current theology which forms the main subject of the Symposium, or the three great series of speeches in chapters 3-27. When reduced to their original form these speeches are found to be simply a protest against current views. They provide no solution of the problem of suffering. They begin and end with the question, Why? They are dangerously skeptical because they dared to raise the question of the justice of God in so acute a form as to permit of no evasion, and yet did not undertake to provide an answer. This was quite shocking to subsequent generations, and various means were taken, as in the case of Ecclesiastes, to counteract the dangerous tendencies of the Symposium. In the first place its text was subjected to criticism and the three famous passages, 13:15 (contrast the Authorized Version with the Revised Version), 16:19, and 19:26, were so manipulated as to teach Job's pious faith in God and the hereafter. In the next place the third series of speeches, chapters 22-27, to which chapters 28, 29-31 were still later attached, and which has always created the greatest difficulties for the interpreter of Job, is considered to have been shuffled about and the good sound doctrines of the three friends to have been quietly incorporated into the speeches of Job himself. By these means the skeptical Job was transformed into the submissive saint of the tradition. But these changes were not enough. The crowning attempts to counteract the skepticism of the original book are found in the speeches of Elihu, chapters 32-37, and in the speeches of the Almighty, chapters 38-41. Magnificent as these last chapters are as poetry, they have nothing to do with the problems formulated by the Symposium except to blunt the unfortunate impression made by their discussion.

Mr. Jastrow elaborates his theory with all the unobtrusive learning, lucidity, and attractiveness which characterized his former commentary. Here we have popularization of the best sort, in which undue technicality is avoided without the compromise of thorough scholarship. Yet I cannot suppress the feeling that in the present instance the problem of Job has been too much simplified by the analysis. This is particularly true in the treatment of the Symposium and of the great crisis in it described in chapters 16, 17, and 19. Mr. Jastrow admits that Job is a profoundly religious spirit. He has not the coldly objective attitude toward religious problems of the thoroughgoing rationalist. But if this is so, are we not to look for evidences of struggle in him and will these not be seen in logical inconsistencies which are nevertheless psychologically just what we would expect? When, for example, in the sixteenth chapter Job ends that amazing and altogether overpowering review of his condition by "the cry that shivered to the tingling stars,"

Oh, Earth, cover not my blood,

is the appeal to the heavenly witness that follows out of place, as Mr. Jastrow supposes? Is not this sudden fierce appeal to God himself against God, this momentary turning from the phantom God conjured up by the superficial theology of his friends to the God of reality revealed in a crisis of intense moral agony, just one of those touches that isolate the masterpieces of the world on heights that lesser genius cannot scale?

KEMPER FULLERTON

An Honest German

Mein Kampf gegen das militaristische und nationalistische Deutschland. By Friedrich Wilhelm Foerster. Stuttgart: Verlag "Friede durch Recht."

IT is a thousand pities that this most candid and penetrating examination of the psychology of German chauvinism and imperialism cannot be brought properly to the attention of those who assert that German liberalism, if it exists at all, is something incoherent and hamstrung. Professor Foerster has written a book which can hardly be matched in any of the other countries which participated in the war so far as unbiased self-analysis is concerned. It ought to be translated into English if for no other reason than to help shame us into a similar mood. The author announces that his object is to reveal the Germans to themselves and thus to aid in the reconstruction of a better land. But, incidentally, his book, if read abroad, will contribute its bit to the healing of wounded national pride and the allaying of partisan prejudices. Surely nothing could be more irenic in intention and tone than his constant assumption that the chief guilt of the war is Germany's.

Professor Foerster had a most honorable record all through the war for his courage in telling unwelcome truths. Yet he suggests neither the moral prig nor the habitual off-sider. One does not need to be a "positive Christian believer," as he calls himself, in order to appreciate his moral idealism. There is something so compelling in his peculiar combination of ethical loftiness and sturdy sense of reality that one can easily understand the large number of his followers, especially among the academic youth of Germany. His volume entitled "German Youth and the World War," published in the very middle of the conflict, afforded ample evidence that his teaching had not been lost. The German Government was at great pains to suppress this influence, but the methods employed of direct and indirect pressure can hardly have conduced to that end. When, for example, Professor Foerster's colleagues in the philosophic faculty of the University of Munich issued a manifesto repudiating his views on Bismarck and the fatal legacy of Realpolitik, they probably furthered the spread of those opinions.

In a way, the present book is the answer of Professor Foerster to his critics at home. It would be going too far to say that he wants to make the Germans see themselves as others see them; but it is preeminently true that he wishes to preserve his sense of proportion in adjudging the guilt of the war. He is never weary of asserting that no fair verdict can be reached if only the outward events of the last few years are considered, while the psychology of peoples and their cultural traditions are left out of account. So although it may be truthfully said that the entire European system was to blame for the war, yet it is possible, granted the system, to single out one element to which the major part of the culpability attaches. And Professor Foerster has not the slightest doubt that the disturbing element was Germany. It was that coun-

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try which aroused universal distrust, forced excessive armaments, and made out of Europe an armed camp in which insecurity and fear prevailed. It is not so much the overt acts of aggression which the author would stress as the spirit behind the deeds: the arrogance and truculence of Prussianism, the inflated utterances of statesmen and newspapers, the perverted patriotic education of the youth of the land. It is in this sense that he finds the books of Jagow, Bethmann-Hollweg, and the English publicist E. D. Morel so unsatisfactory. They dwell almost exclusively on the coalitions, intrigues, and military preparations of the last fifteen years, whereas Herr Foerster finds that the German guilt lies much deeper than in diplomatic blunders and imperial fanfaronades. He deplores any tendency to explain the cataclysm of 1914 as the outcome of "world-sin." All such arguments are just so much flattering unction which the German nationalists lay to their breasts. He devotes a particularly interesting chapter to an analysis of the writings of Mr. Morel which appeared in German translation last year. The total effect of such publications is to keep alive the spirit of aggressive Prussianism which is for Herr Foerster the brand of infamy on modern Germany and for which he would fain substitute the once honored cultivation of the soul. Can such drastic self-searching be found in any other country? If so, the reviewer has as yet not discovered it.

W. K. Stewart

America Once Over

Across America with the King of the Belgians. By Pierre Goemaere. E. P. Dutton and Company.

M. PIERRE GOEMAERE shows himself a logical descendant of those European travelers who during the early days of this republic came to the New World and found it, by an admirable coincidence, to be exactly what they had been told it would be. His observations of the "rather naive and even primitive" Americans have, therefore, a quaintly archaic flavor. The George Washington, appropriately outfitted even to the extent of possessing a "coquettish" apartment for the Queen, brought the royal family, as the public already knows, to New York, and here M. Goemaere began his adventures with the discovery, astonishing to the most hardened of us, that "in America the people, and even members of society, seem to know the words of the national anthem." Boston, "the intellectual and artistic center of America," with "families who can trace their ancestors three and four generations back," enjoyed a visit from the travelers, though even the Boston aristocracy betrayed its recent origins to "the first glance of a European." This, perhaps, was to be expected, since Americans "have no real history any more than they have a real intellectualism."

Their digestions impaired by American cooking, "that disastrous cooking," the party commenced its long journey across the country fortified only by glasses "filled with hopelessly limpid water on which a few small pieces of ice floated sadly about. That endless ice water!" The ordinary Pullman furnished the Belgians with spectacles which made it worth while to abandon the royal train now and then. M. Goemaere found himself no less thrilled than astonished by the sight of "gentlemen and ladies getting chastely undressed in the aisles . . . and all this with the greatest purity of morals." The royal train, however, afforded its own thrill in the shape of an engine which constantly preceded it by five or six miles so that in case of a collision this engine should be wrecked and not the train sacred to majesty. M. Goemaere wishes it made plain that the press was not always accurate in its accounts of the visitors: that famous legend, for instance, of the engineer-king running his own train, whereas "in reality our sovereign never touched a lever"; or the "international sensation" created by the account of the "Queen of the Belgians struggling with the lions of America," whereas the facts of the case are that she merely petted some "darling" little lions "that had been taken from the nest in their earliest infancy and had known no other society but that of man." M. Goemaere found his greatest sensation in Santa Barbara when a pretty California girl, driving her own motor, offered him a lift back to his hotel and in the course of the ride talked to him only of her biceps. "Charming adventure."

Widely different aspects of American life claimed the travelers' interest: such as the farmer seen from the car window, going to his land "comfortably installed in a spacious [automobile] body overflowing with a pile of spades, scythes, rakes, and other implements of plowing"; and large hotels like the Pennsylvania in whose assembly-rooms "American society congregates in the evening." These particular Belgians looked in vain, it is a pleasure to record, for "Redskins, Sioux, and other *apaches* who rush to attack trains with knives in their hands and war-cries on their lips." The great American legend still flourishes, apparently, in unnaive and unprimitive Europe.

Irita Van Doren

What Every Freshman Should Know

Human Traits and Their Social Significance. By Irwin Edman. Houghton Mifflin Company.

HERE is an unusual reply to the vexing question which every college faculty periodically raises and half-heartedly answers, the question what is the irreducible minimum which should be presented to every freshman? For a quarter of a century the answer tended to limit itself largely to the technique of English composition. Let the freshman be taught to use English prose with reasonable effectiveness, it was argued, and other courses might be counted on to provide solid material for thought. As regards the cultural results of this method there has long been dissatisfaction, which is coming to embrace the entire cafeteria system of education with a single prescribed side-dish. It has produced truckloads of textbooks on composition, but it has not visibly increased undergraduate zeal for things of the intellect. In "Human Traits and Their Social Significance" a fresh and hopeful start is made with the familiar problem. If there is to be a general course for all freshmen it could hardly be better planned than the one here developed. It substitutes a body of scientific facts, set in ordered perspective, for advice about style. It assumes that the ancient admonition "Know thyself" is pregnant with meaning beyond the injunction "Write clearly." It seeks to explain in lucid detail the source and significance of that raw material of human nature which the freshman unconsciously brings with him to college, and to show how through recurrent stimuli and inhibitions, modified by the rule of reason, this raw material of instincts is molded to social form and purpose. It is a suggestive conception, developed with admirable sympathy and insight. The book divides into two broad parts: the first concerns itself with psychology, and presents the main facts revealed by laboratory experiments; the second deals with the career of reason in the several fields of religion, art, science, and morals. Why this latter portion does not include economics and political science is not apparent from a first reading.

It is fortunate that the experiment has been made by a philosopher with broad humanistic backgrounds against which to set his facts, rather than by a pure scientist. Its purpose is not the presentation of original material, but the organization and synthesis of available knowledge; and its method is that of a skilful teacher, concerned with the immensely difficult problem of quickening the intellectual curiosity of human beings with strong resistant powers. It rests upon psychology, but it uses psychology to explain and interpret man in society. To take an illustration. The old metaphysics divided the world into warring camps over the question of the freedom of the will. Mr. Edman abandons metaphysical analysis. He accepts the conclusions of psychology that will is the "whole complex organization of the permanent self set against an alien intruding impulse," and

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builds the fact into a rational interpretation of man reflecting. It is such an attitude that justifies the role of the philosopher as social counselor, a role little honored in America, but greatly necessary. All about us are two worlds that persist in remaining apart, when every need demands that they should become one. On the one hand is the individual, the product of evolutionary processes that reach far back in time to simple organisms—the habit-ridden victim of forces that he might guide if he took the trouble to understand them. The psychologist is steadily piling up exact knowledge of this complex of human nature, to the end that he may explain man to himself; but we are too busy living to pause to consider how we may live rationally. On the other hand is society, the milieu in which we dwell, a residuum of group customs and herd impulses, created by the instinct of gregariousness and conditioning our effective self-realization. Sociology makes it a business to explain its forces and interpret its processes; but the custom-ridden individual goes his driven course not realizing how foolishly he is driven. Enter the philosopher, who gathers up the results of these related sciences—the knowledge of instinct, milieu, reflection—pours over them a stream of thought, buttonholes the individual, and bids him pause to consider his ways to his own good.

It used to be said at Harvard that every undergraduate should take Fine Arts IV with Charles Eliot Norton, for even if he got no great appreciation of art, he would at least be brought in contact with a gentleman. If every freshman could be induced to listen sympathetically to Mr. Edman's exposition of human traits, he might not become a psychologist or a philosopher, but he would be brought in contact with a stimulating body of fact, and would gain some understanding of what is meant by the phrase "liberalizing the mind." He would discover the deeper purpose and justification of the college of liberal arts. He would find unexpected doors opening into realms more fascinating than he had before conceived of. He would discover that science is not mere pottering over trivialities, but a highway leading out into the rich fields of religion, art, ethics—that by its help one is equipped to pursue the career of reason and achieve rationality. If such contact with a philosophizing mind remains sterile, then indeed is young America hard ridden by the hag of habit.

But the freshmen to whom this work should be dedicated are far more numerous than the relatively small body that will gather next fall at Columbia, from which Mr. Edman writes, or at any other college which may make use of his book. The great mass of men and women who have quitted the class room, or have never entered it, are often no better than freshmen in their knowledge of themselves or of the social milieu. While they have been following use and wont the psychologists have turned many things upside down, and the repercussion of their discoveries is disturbing a host of traditional conceptions. The intellectual luggage with which we carefully outfitted ourselves in earlier days, and which too many of us still assume to be sufficient to our needs, belongs in the garret, with hoops and bustles. It is antiquated, though we may not know it. To all such extra-mural freshmen "Human Traits" suggests a new intellectual outfit; it opens a convenient gap in the wall through which we may squeeze into the fascinating realm of modern social psychology.

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Popular Science

The End of the World. By Joseph McCabe. E. P. Dutton and Company.

Le Mouvement biologique en Europe. By Georges Bohn. Paris: Librairie Armand Colin.

JUST as the belief in progress has taken the place, with a large portion of civilized mankind, of the earlier belief in a future life, so the need for guidance once supplied by dogmatic theology is now satisfied by popular science. Doctrines of predestination and grace have made way for theories of heredity and of the conservation of energy; many men are now more interested in the size of Betelgeuse than in the election to salvation. This evolution of the race has been recapitulated by Mr. McCabe in his own person. Having started as a Franciscan he left the friary in a passion of Voltairean hatred for his old faith; this has now, to some extent, subsided, and he is content tranquilly and tirelessly to pursue the new religion of science. Of the sixty volumes he has published the most recent and one of the best is a study of astronomy in its relation to the question of the probable duration of the earth as a possible home for life.

That life will come to an end at some future date seems certain; the problem is as to the method of extinction. For Faust's Homunculus, the tiny creature capable of surviving only in the chemical retort in which he was created, is a true image of man on the earth, bound by the conditions of his existence to a thin atmosphere of air and moisture on the surface of an iron ball flying through space with a velocity greater than that of a bullet at the rifle's muzzle. As all the stars are hurtling through space at an equal or greater speed there might seem imminent danger of a collision which would knock us all into a mass of luminous gas, but this danger is really slight, owing to the vast distances of space. A second possibility is that the earth may become unfit for habitation by losing its air and water, as the moon has done—the moon, compared by Mr. McCabe to the skeleton at the feast with its perpetual reminder to us of our future fate.

A third possibility is that the sun may burn too low to give us warmth and light, and this was recently believed by astronomers and physicists to be only a matter of a few million years. However, reasons have lately been advanced for thinking that the vast quantity of energy poured from the sun may be supplied by some form of atomic change comparable to radioactivity, and there are now astronomers who estimate the life of a star not in millions but in billions of years. But only the dates are in dispute; that the dark death is certain at some time seems to be agreed.

But long before this happens Mr. McCabe has convinced himself that mankind will be faced with one of the glacial epochs that apparently periodically visit the planet. The next such period, he thinks, will be much more severe than the last, and may prove fatal to life. But mankind will have hundreds of millions of years to prepare for it, and may not mind then again master matter, as it has often done before? Over against the grandiose and sublime spectacle of eternal matter flaming through space is to be put the miracle of mind that can now weigh each star and chemically analyze the matter in some inconceivably remote abyss. Even now we are only in the morning of the world and are only stammering the first words of our scientific language. What may we not hope from the mature race? The imagination kindled with the idea of that supreme conflict between man and nature surely sees the universe not as man but as God, *sub specie aeternitatis.*

It is just because in the light of science the destiny of the race seems both so great and so perilous that our mutual animosities and ephemeral hatreds seem so out of place. If in religion, as Paul said, there is neither Greek nor barbarian, neither bond nor free, then in science there is neither French nor German. And yet one of the main motives of M. Bohn's otherwise excellent review of recent biological thought is to discredit German science, while exalting that of France, of Poland, and of Czecho-Slovakia. Except for this ugly feature his little book is a thrilling record of recent discovery, all the more exciting because he has his own thesis to advance and to defend against rival hypotheses. He is fully convinced that all life, and particularly evolution, can be explained chemically. It is a waste of time, he says, any more to discuss Darwin and Lamarck and the problems of heredity propounded by them. Recent experiments show, he believes, that every vital function can be explained as a chemical or mechanical reaction to environment. For example, artificial fertilization of eggs by electricity or by other agents, and sometimes the fertilization of the eggs of one species by the spermatozoa of another, show that the origin of life is but a chemical process. Kammerer claimed in 1913 to have transformed one species of salamander into another by change of environment. By varying the diet, and nothing else, of hens he completely altered their plumage, thus disposing of Darwin's hypothesis of the development of this by sexual selection. Still more startling are the results of various surgical operations on guinea pigs, results, indeed, which remind us of nothing so much as the Island of Dr. Moreau in H. G. Wells's fantastic story. By grafting certain glands of the male on the female, and vice versa, the form of the individual and its psychological character were both completely changed.

By such arguments M. Bohn makes a strong case against vitalism, the invocation of an entelechy that makes organisms greater than the sum of their parts. He claims that biological mechanism is at the bottom of evolution; that a living being is an oscillating system, polarized somewhat on the analogy of a magnet, and with vectorial properties mathematically calculable.

PRESERVED SMITH

Japan and the World

Taisen-go no Sekai to Nippon (The World and Japan After the Great War). By Ichiro Tokutomi. Tokyo.

A NEW book by Ichiro Tokutomi, member of the House of Peers, editor of the *Kokumin*, and Japan's foremost literary critic, is always an event. His latest work is an elaborate treatise, dealing lucidly with the problems confronting present-day Japan. It has all the radiant enthusiasm and critical acumen of his previous books, tinctured with a mordant pessimism, peculiar to his later writing, that may be due to advancing years.

The evils now facing Japan, in the opinion of this author, are the self-complacency and self-satisfaction of the people, their delusion that the tendency of the world is toward peace, the isolation of the Japanese by other races, the dominant impulse of materialism everywhere among the people, and finally their extreme lack of self-confidence and independence. Of course all Japanese do not agree with Mr. Tokutomi in his gloomy outlook; and this he himself admits frankly. He perhaps fails to note that the difficulties of Japan are not national but universal at the present time. His idealism is derived from the feudal Japan rather than from the spirit of the modern world. It is for this reason that he only painfully accepts industrialism as a dominant type of society. Japan's progress in productive power, as well as in commerce and in politics, makes little impression on his mind. He is especially hard on the *narikin*, or *nouveaux riches*, a plague resulting from the war, he affirms; and this "get-rich-quick spirit," he contends, now mars Japanese civilization everywhere. He asserts that the whole nation is not only ruled by it, but is not ashamed of it. The luxury of the new rich excites the envy of the less fortunate and creates dangerous social disaffection. The attitude of Mr. Tokutomi in this portion of the volume recalls the writings of Carlyle and Ruskin.

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When Mr. Tokutomi undertakes to indicate how his country began to deteriorate after the Russo-Japanese war we get a clearer idea of what he means by moral decline. Up to the time of the war the nation had a united ideal and a determined national spirit; the Japanese then knew what they wanted and how to attain it. The effect of this policy was a triumph over all difficulties. The Japanese, he feels, are abandoning the racial and communal idea for internationalism and universal brotherhood. He is obsessed by ideas of nation and race. This is a weakness that has long affected Japanese civilization; it tends to make the Japanese a race apart. And yet Mr. Tokutomi laments over the isolation of his country among the nations. Were Japan to insist on a narrowly nationalistic spirit and policy she would be still further isolated internationally.

While thus adhering to a nationalistic view of world problems, Mr. Tokutomi still insists that he is a citizen of the world, though he does not propose to give this precedence over his national citizenship. He is ready to revolt against the cult of wealth while apparently in favor of the cult of power. Mercantile power is gross and vulgarizing while military power is quite consistent with the highest idealism. What he deems the fruitlessness of the European war in so many ways has lessened Mr. Tokutomi's faith in the expected new world conscience and, inferentially, the League of Nations. He refuses, however, to admit that the necessity for armaments after the war is to be confused with the necessity of conflict. The book is full of illuminating discussions of Western nations, especially of England and the United States, of which countries the author has a knowledge above most of his political colleagues in Japan. Of these important discussions one may here be mentioned as of increasing significance: that with regard to the Anglo-Japanese alliance. Mr. Tokutomi holds that, because it was made with Russia as the objective, since Russia is no more the alliance ceases to have any practical significance. He contends that in the future England's concern will be with Germany; and Japan's with the United States. The alliance may be of some importance to England but none to Japan. Japan supported England against Germany, in accordance with the spirit of the alliance; but England has not supported Japan against America; and, moreover England did not stand by Japan in her contention for racial equality at the Peace Conference. The book is obviously lacking in consideration of the numerous ways wherein Japan, England, and America can cooperate for the peace of the world and the mutual good of their respective peoples.

J. Ingram Bryan

Poetic Space and Time

Breakers and Granite. By John Gould Fletcher. The Macmillan Company.

THIS is a collected edition of such old or new poems by Mr. Fletcher as lend themselves to inclusion in an imagist's panorama of America. The panorama begins with The Arrival, dated May, 1920, an impression of New York harbor after Europe and the Atlantic, and proceeds as if by rediscovery through Manhattan, New England, Chicago, the lower Mississippi, the Old South, the Far West, and the Arkansas River to a concluding American Symphony which itself concludes with deservedly the best known poem of Mr. Fletcher's to date, Lincoln. That the rediscovery is fictitious—that many parts of the panorama were composed as far back as 1914 or 1915—does not matter if the net result is interesting, and the net result is extraordinarily interesting.

The panorama is interesting for the obvious reason that section after section of it is beautiful, but it is interesting also for the reason that it is the work of a deliberate and conscientious modern artist in words, and so is an important document in modern poetry. As clearly as any one volume of recent years it reveals the whole uncanny strength of imagism—its dauntless definiteness of phrase, its concentration, its care, its surface accuracy. The most reflective member of the imagist group who issued their manifesto in 1915, Mr. Fletcher has continued to confront a many-sided world with a sincere imagination, applying himself modestly, collectedly, and coolly to the business of registering beauty.

Yet if his book reveals imagism's strength, it reveals more clearly its weakness. If one was not convinced before, one will be convinced now that imagism not only had an inferior aim but lacked the very means of achieving it. That aim was visual truth and nothing but visual truth—about one-tenth of poetry—and the single technical problem proposed was the problem of producing effects which should not be "blurred"—a problem of which instinctive, first-rate poets have seldom if ever been so much as conscious. The aim of profound poetry now or at any time is less to see than to understand—to see, certainly, but to see with eyes unencumbered by prisms that intensify the trees and dissolve the forest. Good poetry makes us see wholes, and imagism wishes to be good poetry; but imagism so far has given us only hard, clear parts that do not blend. Sharp-sightedness has become short-sightedness, and richness has had to do for depth. Mr. Fletcher, wherever and to the extent that he has been an imagist proper, proves all the foregoing true. There is scarcely a line of his, or an image, which is not admirable, but there are many poems which fail of great effect. Applying the principles of other arts to poetry never makes it definite. Rather it makes it vague, and Mr. Fletcher, on the whole too much the painter in the present volume, is on the whole too vague. His air is often the air of one who talks abstractedly to himself before an easel; his concern is generally with the formulas of description, with the jargon of design. In no such way does a poet get power. Aloofness and fastidiousness may discover beauty, but they rarely can hold it till we come.

The error of the imagists after all was the error of supposing poetry to be a matter solely of space. If poetry is solely anything, it is solely time, and had Lessing not demonstrated the proposition in a treatise Mr. Fletcher would have convinced us of it by example. For his three best poems have more than mere extension; they have depth. They start and speed the imagination in the only direction that literature can go—backward, forward. Their magnitude is the only magnitude which poetry can assume, the magnitude of duration. The first of the three, called The Empty House, contains just one idea—the definitive wisdom of a dwelling which has served its turn—but that is enough. More ideas, more standing off, more shaping and tracing, might have left a more delicate creation, but the effect would have been to freeze the imagination. The other two pieces are great in part because they are like Whitman. In The Great River and in Lincoln Mr. Fletcher has started up out of his little "water-color ecstasy," has laid aside his "delicate fan of cool notes blending," and has plunged with Whitman into the stream of mighty time. The Mississippi becomes great for him not because it is wide or long but because it is old; his grasp, his faculties, his soul expand and roll before them masses of emotion and thought which imagism never dreamed of. Lincoln becomes great for the poet because Lincoln has character, and character, like a tree, is a product of maturing time.

Ungainly, laboring, huge,
The wind of the north has twisted and gnarled its branches;
Yet in the heat of mid-summer days, when thunder clouds ring
the horizon,
A nation of men shall rest beneath its shade. . . .

Down to the granite of patience
These roots swept, knotted fibrous roots, prying, piercing, seeking,
And drew from the living rock and the living waters about it
The red sap to carry upwards to the sun.

Imagism must soon go out. Why not on some such wave as this?

Mark Van Doren

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Bergson and Balfour

Bergson and His Philosophy. By J. Alexander Gunn. E. P. Dutton and Company.

Essays Speculative and Political. By Arthur James Balfour. George H. Doran Company.

"THEY told me, Heraclitus, they told me you were dead"—and now they tell me that you live again in Henri Louis Bergson. For what is the self-styled "philosophy of change" but the ancient πάντα ῥεῖ enriched with every connotation of modern science? For Bergson time and change are the ultimate realities known not by intellect but intuitively. The universe is a constant flux in which there is no such thing as immobility. All true change, and every single movement, is one and indivisible; if we move in a line from A to B there can be no segmentation of the line, for that would be the destruction of the willed and felt motion and the substitution for it of two or more other entities. Thus is the ancient riddle invented by Zeno about Achilles and the tortoise disposed of. For ages time and space have been the playthings of the philosophers, who hunted the two wild categories through a private preserve from which all poachers were warned by large "no trespass" signs. But in the last few years the physicists have begun to do a little shooting on the premises themselves, and the result of their researches has been violently to suggest that time is no single whole, but is divided up, like matter and energy, into tiny packets. Our illusion of a continual, uninterrupted flow of time is exactly analogous to the illusion we have at a motion picture show; the rapidity of succession of discrete sensations deceives the sense organs and hence the brain.

Hardly any philosopher has ever taken such pains to acquaint himself with the results of science as has Bergson; but, as Santayana has somewhere said, he knows it all with a sort of hostile externality, as a Jesuit might know Protestant theology. The main use of his knowledge has been to enable him to attack the cherished hypotheses of science. He tries to show that thought is not a function of the brain, and that the psychologist's belief that there is a perfect parallelism between conscious activity and cerebral activity is false. Thus he introduces the probability that the soul survives the body.

His most famous contribution to the philosophic interpretation of scientific hypothesis, and one well set forth in Mr. Gunn's able summary, is his idea of the *élan vital* as the motive force in evolution. Life he compares to a great stream confined by matter as the river is by its banks; the banks determine the sinuosities of the course but not its direction, much less its movement. Adaptation to environment may explain this and that form taken by life, but it cannot explain the continual onward push of consciousness to ever greater abundance in quantity and to ever finer qualitative form. This is explained by him as the innate effort of spirit trying to free itself from the trammels of matter; the process of evolution "is as if a vague and formless being, whom we may call, if we will, *man* or *superman*, had sought to realize himself and had succeeded in doing so only by abandoning a part of himself on the way." But life has no conscious purpose; for to Bergson teleology is false, and necessarily so because of the supreme quality of life, its free will. Not even God, "who is now making himself," can know what will happen, because life is endowed with the power of self-determination, of creating something new and uncaused save by itself. Free will is proved by intuition, man's highest faculty; and if it seems to be disproved by reason that is because reason has been evolved by life as an instrument to cope with matter and is at home only in material concepts, such as quantity and causality. It is the old story of the army, called into being to combat foreign enemies, finally making itself master of the state.

One of the essays in Mr. Balfour's last book is devoted to a thoughtful criticism of Bergson for inconsistency in explaining the fundamental life process. How can life keep ever moving on its way if it does not know whither it is going? If teleology is rejected, how can life continue in a constant process of introducing ever more contingency into the domain of matter? If spirit is the *prius* of all things, must not spirit be an absolute? Bergson's argument, concludes Balfour, is the familiar theistic argument from design with the design left out. Better invoke a God with a purpose than a super-consciousness with none.

Whether or not the digladiations of the thinkers ever eventuate in a victory for either side, it is a pleasure to watch their skilful fencing with exquisitely tempered blades. Mr. Balfour's versatile mind, trained by long years on the front bench of the House of Commons, is ready to attack any subject in debate, and is sure to furnish rare sport to the galleries. After a bout with Bergson with the foils, he rips up Treitschke in one of the most cutting and sarcastic of criticisms, and then settles the freedom of the seas, Zionism, and other questions suggested by the war.

More valuable than his ephemeral and slightly warped political essays are the speculative, including that on Bergson, one on Bacon, one on Aesthetics, one on Psychical Research, and one on Decadence. Bacon's supreme importance he finds neither in his inductive method nor in his empirical discoveries, but in the labor of creating the atmosphere favorable to the growth of science. Consider the contempt in which that Cinderella of the disciplines had hitherto been held; the fears of the orthodox, the hostility of the learned, the indifference of the powerful, and the ignorance of the many, and then consider the vast difference made by the appeal of Bacon to look for light in the research into nature's processes.

Fascinating indeed are Balfour's speculations on the laws of civilization and decay. Many years before Spengler wrote his "Untergang des Abendlandes" Balfour had been almost persuaded by the example of Rome that a nation or a type of civilization is subject to a final period of decay and death analogous to that undergone by an individual. When he first wrote the essay, in 1908, he thought that none of the causes commonly assigned for the decline and fall of Rome adequately explained the phenomenon; since then he has been much impressed by Professor Simkhovitch's argument that the decline was due to the gradual exhaustion of the soil. S.

Drama

John Drinkwater

MR. JOHN DRINKWATER, who is a poet, woke up one day and found himself a successful playwright. He had written a gently realistic chronicle play within a poetic and symbolic framework. The public and the reviewers promptly disregarded the poetry and the symbolism and enjoyed seeing an actor who looked a little like Lincoln go through the great man's traditional gestures. This accident, which did violence to Mr. Drinkwater's deeper intention, is now impelling him to do violence to himself. The true place for "Mary Stuart" (Ritz Theater) was among his eloquent and imaginatively built one-act dramas in verse.[1] Instead it has been stretched and diluted and done in prose which Mr. Drinkwater writes with evident strain and discomfort. Even so it does not suffice for an evening's entertainment and its entire symbolical character, at variance with its watery medium of expression, disappoints an audience which came to see history and pageantry, loud passions and a piteous end.

For Mr. Drinkwater was not really interested in Mary Stuart at all, just as in his admirable "A Night of the Trojan War" he cared very little about the men of flesh and blood who fought before Ilium. In both cases he goes to the past merely to set in poetic and philosophic perspective a stinging problem of his own time and heart, and to transpose it into a mood of serenity where it can be more calmly and detachedly contemplated. What fascinates him is the trouble of the young Scotchman, John

[1] *Pawns: Four Poetic Plays.* By John Drinkwater. Houghton Mifflin Company.

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A CLERICAL UNION

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Hunter, who appears in the brief prologue that, in the fashion of the screen, melts into a merely illustrative anecdote from the life of the Queen of Scots. John's wife Margaret has come to love another man without ceasing to love him. He babbles of his honor; he acts like a man who has been robbed of a dog or a diamond. A vision of Mary Stuart comes to instruct and to heal him and to make clear the mystery of Margaret's heart. "We must become love or it spends us," the queen says. She is, in this presentation, a great soul and one that is greatly wise in love. She is driven through the world; she cannot find peace because there is no man whose largeness of nature answers to her own. Rizzio is a toy, Darnley a sot and a fool, Bothwell can give her only the intoxication of the minute that is between them. She attempts, like Plato's lover, to pass from one object of beauty to another in order to catch a glimpse of the image of that ideal beauty which alone can fill the soul. Such thoughts in Mary are not beyond the range of the possible. No doubt she had read the poems of Du Bellay. But as Mr. Drinkwater makes her say, Ronsard was her teacher, and the "Heptameron" of Marguerite of Navarre appeared, one recalls, only eight years after Ronsard's "Odes." But the psychology of the historical personage matters little enough. She points a modern moral and the last note of the play is a tragic one, because John Hunter remains unenlightened and unconvinced—how was he to be convinced by an argument so wounding to his pride?—and declares that Mary Stuart can teach him nothing. One wants, but hardly from Mr. Drinkwater, another act in which John goes home and stupidly yet so naturally tells Margaret that she must choose between Finlay and himself. For this Margaret who, like the lady of Arles in Daudet's play or Penelope in Hauptmann's "The Bow of Odysseus" never appears at all, is the true protagonist of the entire action.

The idea of the play, it will be seen, is both ingenious and significant. The execution lacks both vitality and the necessary sense of progression toward some culmination however spiritual and unseen. And one cannot help referring that to the medium used. For so soon as Mr. Drinkwater writes verse his dramatic vitality becomes as high as the inner rhythm of his work becomes compact and energetic. His philosophical drift in "Mary Stuart" is as sound as in "Pawns," but it is cluttered and obscured by the ingenuity of dramaturgic devices. All of Mary's tortuous and falsely simple prose does not hit the mark as do the verses which Mr. Drinkwater's Trojan soldier speaks to his comrade:

> Capys, it is so little that is needed
> For righteousness; we are so truly made,
> If only to our making we were true.

Nor is the mere action in "Mary Stuart" as direct and as effective as the actions of either "The Storm" or the really magnificent "God of Quiet" in which the madness of war is creatively set forth as strongly and as permanently as in any piece of contemporary literature.

The one-act plays in verse were all acted in England. One cannot, alas, imagine their production here. It did not, evidently, even occur to Mr. William Harris to use one of them instead of a quite dull and graceless pantomime as the curtain raiser which the briefness of "Mary Stuart" made necessary. Plays in modern verse strike both our managers and our audiences as futile and grotesque and no one seems to suspect the reason, which is, above all others, that our actors cannot speak verse. Either they reduce it to prose by every violence at their command or else they deliver it with an air so insufferably mawkish that its alienation from their ears and minds is at once betrayed. The Chronicler in "Abraham Lincoln" still brings the memory of the vicarious shame one felt for his sorry affectation. Perhaps Mr. Drinkwater's reputation will some day persuade a producer to have a group of actors trained by one who understands the nature of verse. A full length poetic play by this dramatist, at all events, is a thing to be hoped for, since it, if anything, may once more help poetry to return to the living stage.

LUDWIG LEWISOHN

Art

Archipenko

IT is quite possible that Alexandre Archipenko's sculpture may be objected to on the ground that it follows an obscure cult of remoteness, that it betrays a critical rather than a strictly creative intelligence. Yet it cannot be justly charged against Archipenko that, like the Orphic cubists, he lacks central substance, feeling, and ultimate reality. True to his Russian origin, he touches earth, albeit fleetly and only on tiptoe. This, no doubt, will also explain why he does not range above simple human subjects nor put behind him, as tamely wornout, the advantage of a pictorial starting-point, even though his spirit chafes to soar beyond the flesh to a purer universe.

Several interesting examples of Archipenko's art are being exhibited at the Societe Anonyme and the Daniel Gallery. The Societe Anonyme is performing a much-needed service by familiarizing us with what is being done by the disciples of the newer movements both here and in Europe. Even though Archipenko, following a sensation in the capitals of Europe, is here presented to us for the first time, he will not, I believe, baffle the layman so much nor excite the dry cynicisms which the cubists first evoked on this side. The reason for this is not far to seek.

In Archipenko's statuary, bas-reliefs, and sketches we are not challenged with sheer abstractions, with an emasculated equilibrium of purity which is the ideal of Matisse in painting. No interloping fret of subject to mar the harmony of composition! Visual or plastic music, as it is sometimes called, is therefore scarcely the phrase to apply to Archipenko's work, save only in so far as rhythm and harmony underlie all plasticity. Curiously enough, however, even this element in Archipenko is largely subordinated to the sharp edge of the eager intellect.

In this, chiefly, lies the Russian sculptor's modernity. He tends toward intellectual bleakness, unbroken by the lyric warmth of animal impulses and emotions. To allege that the sculptor's chisel aims to model the vision into objects pleasurable to the senses, is to gibber nowadays in a language no longer franked in many studios. Nevertheless the feeling is hard to toss aside that the dominant sculptor of tomorrow, whoever he may be, will try a pulsating fusion of the intellectual with the emotional and sensuous appeal; his blood will flow quick and warm and will not be sluiced upward to the head alone. Round about him exploration and experiment will go on just the same, as it always does.

Archipenko appears to sense this. He is continually wrestling with two angels, each pulling him in the opposite direction. In his work, as in that of his Italian contemporary, Umberto Boccioni (who anticipated several of the former's innovations), we can detect a flying endeavor to weld intellectual and sensuous motives. Certainly Archipenko's experiments, if so they may be described, are suggestive. You may demur, perhaps, that you do not see the reason for the use of wood, iron, cement, and papier-maché in a single piece. But if you will examine the figures and bas-reliefs with an unbiased eye, you will be bound to admit, I think, that some elasticity is achieved. At the same time, to be sure, there is a corresponding loss of clarity and austere feeling. But this is precisely the end the sculptor had in view; his objective was movement, flux—dynamism; and he has got it somehow: he has netted it with flat surfaces, planes, diverse materials, and yawning caverns.

In his bas-reliefs we note what seems at first glance another arresting departure. He has brought his palette into play. On second thought, however, we conclude that nothing essentially new has been released by this trick. The device of coloring figures and figurines, particularly those made out of wood, is an old one practiced by both the Egyptians and the Greeks.

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While the larger cities were erecting marble statues to Apollo, this custom quaintly arose in remote country districts, springing naturally from the simple worship of rustic gods by rustic men.

Archipenko's concavities and holes or, as they are fantastically termed, his "modeling of the atmosphere," give us the measure of the mystical proclivities of the Russian sculptor's mind. Apparently he is entrapped by a transcendental notion, intriguing and highly poetical it may be, but not quite modern in scope. Briefly, it goes something like this: If objects poised in space are legitimate subjects for the sculptor's chisel, why not the actual space they preempt? Why not the ideality of objects? Accordingly, instead of a head of a man or the breast or limb of a woman, Archipenko offers us a hole or a concavity —their non-being, as it were, to ensnare the imagination of the beholder. This savors a little of medieval equivocation, does it not? It is like the ascetic gesture of Plotinus who refused to speak to his mother because she gave him birth, because she yielded his soul to the frail flesh.

For the curious layman, the key to Archipenko's method will be found most clearly adumbrated in the manifestos of the Italian futurist mentioned above, Umberto Boccioni. In one of the latter, issued as far back as 1913, Boccioni outlines his credo in part as follows: "The traditional desire to fix a gesture by a line and homogeneity of materials (marble or bronze) has conspired to make sculpture the static art par excellence. I believe that one might obtain a primary dynamic element by decomposing the unity of materials. . . . Between real and ideal form, between the new form (Impressionism) and the traditional conception (Greek), there is a changing form in the process of evolution which has nothing to do with forms hitherto conceived. This double conception of form, form in motion (relative form) and motion in form (absolute motion), can only be rendered simultaneous with the plastic life at the exact moment of its appearance, without pruning it down or dragging it out of its vital atmosphere, without arresting it in its movement." Boccioni has managed to embody his theory, as in his Spiral Expansion of the Muscles in Movement, in a far more convincing manner than Archipenko, who appears still to be groping for proper expression.

Again, touching Archipenko's recourse to color, while it is not entirely new, it is designed obviously to set sculpture free from the obligatory sun of artificial lighting. This problem is more imaginary than real. It will not do, however, to urge that marble and bronze have always offered a resistant medium and that out of the perplexities of the chosen vehicle itself, out of its native limitations, the great sculptors of the past have managed suppleness of form interwoven with puissant movement. Archipenko cannot be denied the right of untrammeled experiment.

He does not always use geometrical planes, as is evidenced by the Nude Woman, which is slightly reminiscent of the Egyptian manner. Taking him all in all, he is more fluid than diverse, and his stark intellectual rationale does not quite hamper his sensuous impulses. At times his "modeling of the atmosphere" does pull us out of ourselves to go in quest of the half-finished personality of the figure; we grow into coworkers with the sculptor. Not infrequently, on the other hand, we are rebuffed by a haze of obscurantism that lingers about the conception. Paganism or sheer animal joy he appears to shun, satisfied that the sculpture of the Greeks is informed with a "fatal deadness," that it is too well balanced and finite. The late Guillaume Apollinaire held that Archipenko introduces harmony into sculpture where previously there had been but melody. This is extremely doubtful. Even Boccioni's "form-forces" are more dynamic, more clearly motivated as well as more skilfully wrought. The explanation may lie in the divergence of the Latin and Slav temperaments. As between the two voices quarreling within him, like robins on a hedge, mysticism rather than modern raucous dynamism trills the louder.

PIERRE LOVING

Music

The "Third" Italy

ITALY is in the throes of a musical renaissance. Like the France and Russia of the last two decades, she too has been touched by that flame of creative intensity, of passionate seeking after musical truths that has been the quickening spirit of modern music. She, too, has wrenched herself free of that strangle-hold of traditions which was gradually squeezing out her life. But unlike those of France and Russia, these traditions were not foreign, but her own. The country which, as M. Casella says, had "given birth to vocal polyphony with Palestrina, to instrumental music with Frescobaldi, to the musical drama with the Florentine 'Camerata' and with Monteverde, to the modern symphony and sonata with Scarlatti, Corelli, and Sammartini, to opera serious and buffa with the Neapolitan school," had at length succumbed to the most degraded form of all, the musical melodrama. This last seems to have reached its highest expression in Verdi, its final decadence in Mascagni and Puccini. Sporadic attempts had been made to return to "pure" music. To this, the German influence, which had so thoroughly penetrated Europe during the latter half of the nineteenth century, was the strongest contributing factor. This influence is still discernible in the works of such men as Orefici, a composer of refinement and taste; of Sinigaglia, who has made extensive utilization of Piedmontese folk-lore; and of the organist, M. Enrico Bossi, who remains today an unconscious disciple of Brahms and who wields a sane and healthy influence as head of the famous Accademia Santa Cecilia. There is no greater proof of his liberal teaching than that he should have turned out a pupil so widely different in style, idiom, and ideas as Malipiero; he is distinguished as perhaps the most conspicuous example of worthy musical conservatism in Italy.

For there is also an unworthy conservative element in Italy, best typified by Arturo Toscanini. Toscanini, as the greatest and most popular conductor in Italy, and as director of La Scala, the most important opera house in the country, has it in his power to push any composer far along the path of success. One would naturally suppose that a man so secure in the favor of the people and in his pinnacle of fame would not consider it necessary to concern himself especially with either. He has concerned himself with both. He has programmed a few modern works because the men who wrote them have begun to win their public, and because, as he says, people will otherwise think that he does not understand modern music. To other composers of equal significance he has only made promises which as yet he has not fulfilled. He has not even been true to himself, for by temperament and tradition he is entirely out of sympathy with the new movement—so much so, indeed, that it is safe to say that, up to the present moment, Arturo Toscanini has made little if any contribution to Italy's "renovation."

Much more has been done, and with much greater sacrifice, by Bernadino Molinari, leader of the famous Augusteo orchestra at Rome, and a conductor of unusually fine attainments. He has both understanding and sympathy, but his position is much more precarious than that of Toscanini, because he is more at the mercy of those conflicting elements which are constantly tearing at the internal musical life of the country. For a conductor these elements mean cliques, jealousy, personal ambition and enmity, and that warfare between Guelph and Ghibelline that eternally rages between Italian cities. For a composer of individuality and independence it sometimes means all these things and one more—namely, the organized commercialism of such publishing houses as Ricordi's and Sonzogno's, a powerful combination that practically controls most of the concert halls and opera houses of Italy, and that has been desperately pushing such a weakling as Zandonai, in the hope of finding a possible successor to the Mascagni-Puccini-Leoncavallo triumvirate in the profitable affections of the public.

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It is significant of the struggle now going on in Italy that though profoundly beautiful and original works are being produced, one seldom hears them performed. For a while there was some sort of society, of which Pizzetti and Casella were leading spirits, which tried to bring these works to the public in concerts organized for this purpose in various parts of the country. Some good was undoubtedly accomplished, although one still has to go to Paris or London to become familiar with them.

Yet in spite of these handicaps there are three or four men in Italy today who are bringing back into her music some of the freshness of expression and boldness of design that belonged to the golden age of her seventeenth century. These men are Ildebrando Pizzetti, his pupil, Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco, G. Francesco Malipiero, and Alfredo Casella. Pizzetti might easily be called the César Franck of Italy. Certainly, his sonata in A-major for violin and piano can unhesitatingly be ranked with that of the Belgian master's. Written in a classical idiom that often reverts to the old Greek modes, inspired by the war and purged of all dross by its suffering, it is full of a broad, sweet, clean humanity that once more preaches the gospel of musical purity, not only to Italy, but to the world. One finds this same quality in his "Fédra," which has lifted Italian opera out of the realm of melodrama, much as "Pelléas" did for the French.

Malipiero and Castelnuovo have also, like Pizzetti, been working for a more ideal form of the music drama, and have also, like him, expressed themselves richly in symphonic and smaller instrumental works. Both, as it happens, are working toward the same goal, but, being original in their concepts, have taken widely divergent paths—Malipiero along that led by a rich, fantastic imagination, Castelnuovo wherever the dreams of adolescence have beckoned. The musical physiognomy of the one is mature, that of a man who has suffered deeply: of a naive, tender, audacious spirit, subject to stormy moods of grief and nostalgia. In the other is all the fine freshness of springtime, the poesy and genial humor of a youthful heart that seems equally drawn toward the serenities of nature and of life and toward the gentle merry legends of the past. And so there has been no more strikingly original music drama during the past few years than Malipiero's "Sette Canzoni," no more beautiful orchestral works than his "Pause del Silenzio" and "Ditirambo Tragico"; nor, in the smaller forms, anything quite so exquisite and charming as Castelnuovo's lyrical "Canti all' aria aperta," for violin and piano, or the three "Fioretti di San Francisco," for voice and orchestra.

Somewhat solitary in his ideals and his ideas stands Casella. Unlike the rest of his fellow-countrymen, he seems to have no strong native impulse toward the music drama. Unlike them, also, he believes that Italy's "new classicism is destined to reunite in one harmonious eurythmic all the last conquered sonorities, Italian and foreign." That he has experimented much and assimilated much, there is distinct evidence in his works. One hears the mechanical rhythms of the new Russians, the nuances and irony of the French, and, with it all, a certain passionate lyricism that proclaims him Italian. This "internationalism" seems to be resented by most of his compatriots, and has left him a curiously isolated figure, uncomprehended by even those few of whom I have spoken and for whom he has labored so faithfully and untiringly. Nevertheless, he is extremely optimistic for the future, and says that the worst obstacles have been overcome. If this is true, it is due in large part to his own initiative and patient efforts. In the meantime one can only hope that out of all this feverish activity, this mighty struggle for freedom of musical thought, will indeed come that "third" Italy of which he has dreamed so long.

HENRIETTA STRAUS

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